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WESTERN ...

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1912

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THE CRADLE OF
WESTERN CIVILISATION

H. T. INMAN

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35-

ROME

Tiara - lat. fr. gr. a head covering.

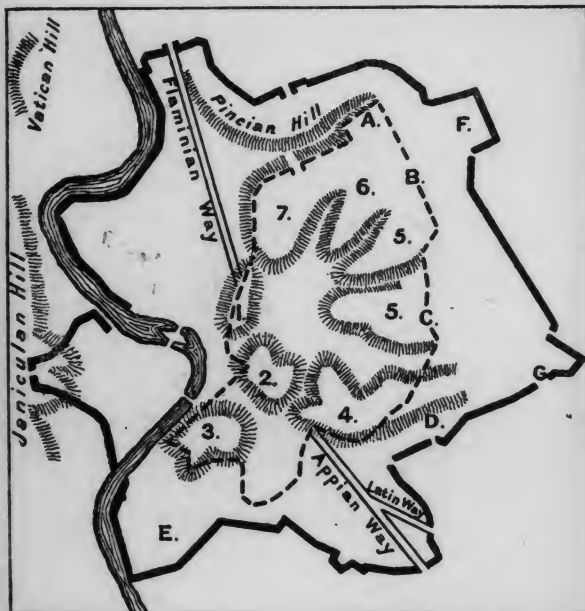
A special head covering for the Pope is first heard of in the Vita of Pope Constantine, 708-715, where it is called camelascum, a white cap, like that worn by dignitaries of the Byzantine court. This as to how it is sufficiently explained by the important position they had then attained in Italy, but especially at Rome. Not being sovereigns they could not wear a crown, but they could wear the camelascum, as representatives of the court of Byzantium.

There is no certainty as to when one circlet was put at the edge. The effigy of Boniface VIII. (1295-1303) at Angiers shows two crowns, whether for pope or as showing a double authority is uncertain.

The earliest effigy with three is that of Benedict XII. 1342.

The tiara is non-liturgical. Like a hat of the Pope wears a mitre for pontifical liturgical functions.

PLAN I.—HILLS AND WALLS.



----- Servian Wall.

———— Aurelian Wall.

1. Capitol
2. Palatine
3. Aventine
4. Coelian
5. Esquiline
6. Viminal
7. Quirinal

- A. Ministry of Finance
- B. Railway Station
- C. Temple of Minerva Medica
- D. St. John's Lateran
- E. Monte Testaccio
- F. Prætorian Camp
- G. Sessorian Palace

ROME

THE CRADLE OF WESTERN CIVILISATION

AS ILLUSTRATED BY EXISTING MONUMENTS

BY

H. T. INMAN, M.A.

AUTHOR OF 'NEAR OXFORD'

LONDON: EDWARD STANFORD

12, 13 & 14 LONG ACRE, W.C.

1912

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In 6

C Lijette Andrews Fisher

SEP 19 1944

SEP 19 1944

Oct. 27, 1944

Lo the last age of Cumae's seer has come!
Again the great millennial aeon dawns.
Once more the hallowed maid appears, once more
King Saturn reigns, and from high heaven descends
The first born child of promise. Do but thou,
Pure goddess, by whose grace on infant eyes
Daylight first breaks, smile softly on this babe;
The age of iron in his time shall cease
And golden generations fill the world.
E'en now thy brother, Lord of Light and Healing,
Apollo, rules and ends the older day.

Conway's Translation.

VIRGIL, *Eclog.* iv. 4-10 (1st c. B.C.)

Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvat saeculum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.

Christian Hymn.

Franciscan (13th c. A.D.)

That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.

TENNYSON.

In Memoriam (19th c. A.D.)

TO MY WIFE

WHOSE NEVER-FAILING INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT
PROVIDED THE NECESSARY STIMULUS

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ROME

INTRODUCTION

THE object of this book is to enable English visitors to see the monuments of ancient and medieval Rome as a whole and from a point of view of personal interest to themselves. The story from the foundation of the city to the present day has been continuous; and, up to the time of the Reformation, when the northern nations resolved to work out their own salvation, it covered, in no small degree, the whole of Europe. It is no exaggeration to say that every monument, from the fragments of the Servian wall to the basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican, illustrates a link in the development of western civilisation, which is our most precious heritage.

Rome is so full of interest that we are tempted to divide it into imaginary sections, such as classical, artistic, and ecclesiastical Rome, and by so doing to lose sight of the connexion between the various parts and to mix up the churches in hopeless confusion. The average Englishman finds so many old friends among the classical ruins that he would rather spend his whole time in renewing his early reminiscences than visit an inordinate number of churches which appear to differ mainly in size. But in reality they have a most important and a most romantic story to tell and are the only consecutive monuments in existence of the first thousand years of Christian history.

The essential difference between ancient and modern civilisation is derived from Christianity, which gives the latter its hope of permanence and universality. Roman culture at its best was very like ours, but it was wanting in the moral and spiritual force which would have enabled it to civilise mankind. When the Romans reached the pinnacle of success they lost the power to control themselves and could not impart self-control to others. This incompetence was remedied by the introduction of the new religion, which first won over the empire and then turned the victorious northern barbarians into a civilised people. These Goths and Vandals, Franks and Saxons, Normans and Danes, brought into the decadent empire the unimpaired physique which was necessary for the creation of a new and permanent civilisation. It is the story of the struggle between these vigorous invaders and the new spiritual element which the churches illustrate. Elsewhere we go far to see the Romanesque abbeys of the eleventh and twelfth, and the Gothic cathedrals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These are the splendid first-fruits of the spiritual victory. But here in Rome we have the churches which were in continuous use throughout the dark days of confusion and chaos, and can find in one or other of them some material witness of Christian work for every century from the fourth onwards.

The monuments of classical Rome cover a period of more than a thousand years, but belong mostly to the last three hundred and fifty. An interest in them is already assured, but we would emphasise their connexion with the medieval monuments and with ourselves. It was owing to the work done by imperial Rome that the city held a leading position in the coming centuries, and it was through its organisation in western Europe that the new civilisation was effected. It will be enough to recall the facts that three of the great nations of modern Europe speak a language which is Latin modified by time and racial influence, that modern law is founded on the Roman code, that the Latin language is the basis of a

liberal education, that our art and architecture are derived from theirs, and that their great roads, bridges, sites, and even names of cities, are still in use. We may even derive satisfaction from their failures as well as from their successes. Had the legions of Augustus not been annihilated in the German forests, Christianity might have had to deal with Romanised Teutons as well as Romanised Celts, and possibly there would have been no Reformation.

The first three centuries of Christianity overlap the last three of the story of Rome as the capital of the empire, and for obvious reasons left no monuments. But Rome possesses the graves of these nine or ten generations of our fellow creatures, who maintained an upward struggle for a higher life which is unique in history, and by their self-sacrifice established the new faith on a permanent basis. The catacombs with their pathetic inscriptions and naive decorations, their graves of unknown heroes and tomb-chambers of martyrs and leaders, are memorials of lives which accomplished more for us than we are wont to admit, and would of themselves make the reputation of any other city in Europe as a place of pilgrimage.

The fourth century was the time of their triumph, when the imperial exchequer endowed the city with its great basilicas. St. Peter's retains the outer walls of the Constantinian building in its crypt, and St. John's Lateran still possesses its ancient baptistery. St. Paul's outside the walls is an almost exact copy of a splendid church of the following century and has important original remains. But within the existing walls of Sta Maria Maggiore, which is not Constantinian and may even be of earlier date, Christians have worshipped continuously for fifteen centuries. The splendid rows of white marble columns with the mosaics above the architrave, and the apse with the groundwork of its decoration, date from the original foundation. These facts indicate what we may look for and how we may differentiate the medieval churches of Rome. Most

of them are early foundations, but have been rebuilt more than once and restored many times. In all of them there is work which touches history at many points, but in one or other there is still something for each century. The simplest form of consecutive testimony is to be found in the mosaic decorations, which date from every century except the eleventh. These have therefore been used in the chronological arrangement of the churches, which in other respects illustrate many different periods.

The first truth to be realised is that the monuments of ecclesiastical Rome begin at the zenith of artistic power and descend to its extinction: after which a revival carries them on to the Renaissance. Roman sculpture was at its best a century before the time of Constantine, but its architects and builders were never more skilful than during his reign. The difficulties surmounted in the basilica of Constantine and in the baths of Diocletian would have saved the Gothic architects a world of trouble had they been able to see them. The earliest churches and the earliest artistic work are therefore the best. At the close of the first decade of the fifth century Rome was taken by the Goths, and thirty years later by the Vandals; and from that time onward to the ninth and tenth centuries fresh relays of these strenuous barbarians overran the empire.

In the Lateran Christian museum there is an excellent collection of sarcophagi, which show considerable artistic merit in the reliefs. There is also a solitary portrait statue of Bishop Hippolytus of the third century. After the early years of the fifth century there are scarcely any sarcophagi, no portrait statues, and no sculpture of any importance until the twelfth century. This simple illustration shows the effect of the barbarian invasions on art generally. People could no longer afford to pay for sculptured stone coffins and the trade died out.

Henceforth for nearly eight hundred years the Church was almost the sole patron of art. The best

artists were in Constantinople, the imperial capital, because the population was mainly Greek. These artists built and decorated the churches of Ravenna in the fifth and sixth centuries, and to a considerable extent no doubt Rome was indebted to their skill. Between the fall of the western empire in 476 and the revolt from Constantinople in the middle of the eighth century, there was constant communication between the two cities. This was especially the case during the rule of the exarchs, when many of the popes were Greeks and the monasteries were filled with Greek monks. But the Byzantine theory has been carried too far in both directions. Too much credit has been given to its work in the West on the one hand, and it has been made to answer for sins which did not belong to it on the other.

The Roman Church would never allow the Byzantine Church or artists to dictate its scheme of decoration. This was a matter for careful ecclesiastical consideration, because its main purpose was didactic. During the period of Greek supremacy in Rome Byzantine influence is evident in the introduction of galleries for women and in the treatment of the mosaics. The dresses of the female saints are covered with jewels, and other Byzantine characteristics are noticeable. But the archaic design of the early mosaics is as much Roman as Byzantine. It was adopted almost from the first and for an easily understood reason. The churches and their furniture, the clergy and choir, were as distinctive as possible in form and dress from anything seen in the outside world. It was in accordance with this spirit that the didactic pictures, which for the most part represented heavenly scenes, should be similarly dissociated from earthly surroundings. When art became virtually extinct during the dark century and a half preceding the end of the first millennium, incompetent copyists in the monasteries supplied the decorative needs of the churches. This went on until a sufficient demand arose to bring into existence a more capable

supply. Giotto of Florence and Duccio of Siena were the first men of genius to respond to the new requirements, and the movement began which ended in the Renaissance and in the creation of modern art. Giotto and his followers simply gave life and dramatic action to the crude productions of the incompetent copyists. Their work was carried to its logical conclusion by later artists, and the natural consequence was the destruction of ecclesiastical art as a medium of appeal to the religious emotions. The Greek Church did not follow the rejection of the archaic design, and the consequence has been that every church picture of the pre-Giottoesque period is now labelled Byzantine. One curious mark of Roman design in ecclesiastical art is the position of St. Paul on the right and St. Peter on the left of the central figure. In Byzantine art the positions are reversed. It illustrates the fact that St. Peter did not hold the supreme position in the early Roman Church which was allotted to him at a later date.

We have been taught that Niccolo di Pisano was the pioneer of modern sculpture as was Giotto of modern painting, and that Rome did not produce a local artist before the time of Giulio Romano, the pupil of Raphael. We shall have to modify our ideas on these, as on other subjects, if we visit the Roman churches with attention. There are not only mosaics of every century except the eleventh, but frescoes of every century except the tenth. There are sculptured figures, tombs, and tabernacles, executed by Roman lay sculptors before Niccolo di Pisano was known. The frescoes of the eleventh century, which thus date from the beginning of the upward rise, are in a chapel of St. Paul's outside the walls and are probably by Cluniac monks who were contemporary with the great Hildebrand. The walls of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura are covered with frescoes without and within, which are distinctly pre-Giottoesque, and no one will say that they are lifeless or undramatic. When Arnolfo di Cambio, who was a fellow-worker with Niccolo di Pisano on the pulpit at Siena, came to Rome in the

latter half of the thirteenth century, he found a paschal candlestick in St. Paul's church which had been carved by Niccolo, son of Angelo, and Peter Vassalectus, both of them Roman lay sculptors. Arnolfo executed some of his masterpieces in Rome—the canopies of St. Paul's and of St. Cecilia's amongst them: in both of which he shows the influence of Roman art upon himself by the introduction of coloured inlay. The Roman pavements and coloured marble and glass-inlay in sculpture, to which the Cosmati family of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have given their name, are distinctive Roman contributions to art. There is nothing more beautiful anywhere than the inlaid marble cloisters of St. John's Lateran by the son of Peter Vassalectus. No one can see the tombs of Bishop Durandus, of Cardinals Anchera, Acquasparta, Gonsalvo, and Fieschi—which were the work of Roman sculptors within a few years of 1300—without concluding that Rome possessed very considerable native talent. When Giotto attended the first jubilee in the closing year of the thirteenth century, he worked with a Roman artist named Pietro Cavallini. The brushwork of the latter is unfortunately poorly represented, but his mosaics in the church of Sta Maria in Trastevere should be carefully examined before the statement is accepted that the Romans were not artistic. Rome played a small part in the Renaissance movement—for a very good reason. The seat of the papacy was moved to Avignon in 1305, and remained there for seventy years. During that time the city dwindled down into a poverty-stricken provincial town of 17,000 people, and its artists were naturally dispersed. When a new demand arose in the middle of the fifteenth century the great artists of Florence were available.

But it is not so much for artistic as for historical reasons that the Roman churches invite our interest. How little most of us know of European history between the fourth and the eleventh centuries, between the days of Constantine and the Crusades! A few figures stand out of a dark background—the two

Augustines, St. Jerome and Gregory the Great, Theodoric, Charlemagne and King Alfred, and perhaps some names and events connected with our own island history. These churches can tell us the whole story from beginning to end and help us to bridge over a culpable gap in our historical knowledge. We can follow the barbarian invasions to the enlightened reign of Theodoric the Great. Then comes a downward descent, partly arrested by the work of Belisarius, which placed Rome once more under Greek ascendancy. The rise of the Saracens and the consequent iconoclastic policy of Leo the Isaurian bring about the severance from Constantinople and the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. The extraordinary genius of Charlemagne raises the hopes of the world, but they are dashed to the ground by the incompetence of his successors and the worst period of all follows. With the passage of the millennium a change of spirit is seen, which is fanned into an active flame by the Crusades, and the modern world begins to take shape. It is a fascinating story, and its chief actors are the rough men from the northern forests, from whom we derive our being. The Church, which was the agent of Christianity, was recruited from this semi-barbarous folk. Its offices were filled by the sons of the chiefs and the highest office of all was only occasionally held by a representative churchman. The method of election was at all times faulty, but especially so before the reforms of Hildebrand in the eleventh century. If we are candid with ourselves, we shall know that Christianity and its profession are two different things, and that we must not expect to find the officials or the practical beliefs of the Church much above the normal standard of each age. There have always been certain men born with a genius for spirituality, as there have been men with a genius for other things—a St. Bernard and a St. Francis, like a Dante and a Michael Angelo—but the average man could never rise to their standard. All men no doubt could be much better than they are in every age, not even

excluding ourselves, but we must give human nature due consideration in forming a judgment.

The third section comprises the magnificent galleries of Greek and Roman sculpture in the Vatican; the treasure trove by excavation and otherwise in the Capitoline, Lateran, and Terme; the works of Christian art in the Vatican and Lateran and in the new museums of the imperial provinces; and of the Middle Ages in the baths of Diocletian and the castle of S. Angelo. Pictorial art is represented by the frescoes in the Sistine chapel and in the Vatican palace, by the pictures in the Vatican, Borghese, Doria and other galleries, and by isolated canvases and frescoes in the churches. One of the by-products of this marvellous city is the wealth of marbles and other choice stones accumulated in every variety of form, from the gigantic monolith to the Greek vase and sculptured figure. They, too, are the spoils of imperial Rome, which, regardless of cost, labour, and distance, imported valuable material whenever and wherever it was found. Nearly all the columns of the churches, the altars, pulpits, fonts, wall-panels, sanctuary rails and screens are from this source. The recollection of the transport of Cleopatra's needle to the Thames embankment makes us blush when we see the obelisks in the Roman piazze.

The ancient world contributed its wealth and its art because Rome was its ruler, and medieval Europe sent its artists because Rome was its centre. Classical Rome absorbed and assimilated as far as it was able whatever its vast dominions could teach it, but it succumbed whole-heartedly to the superior civilisation of Greece. In Rome itself architecture never completely lost its Greek form, though its builders could not altogether refrain from the use of the arch. But Norman, Lombardic, and Gothic architecture are more representative of the arch principle than anything Rome itself produced. This Greek influence is illustrated by the splendid collection of Greek sculpture, whether imported or copied by Greek artists for their Roman

masters. The opportunity is afforded of studying it in the pure designs of the great masters and in the Hellenistic forms of Alexander's extended empire. Roman sculptors were inspired by it to create a style of their own, which is characterised by its realism. The extensive collection of Roman portraiture is its best representative. No one can visit the Roman galleries without obtaining distinct visual impressions of the great personages of ancient history. The features of the poets and philosophers, emperors, statesmen, and other leading characters of Greece and Rome, become as familiar as those of the prominent men of our own day. No less attractive are the productions of Renaissance art. A small fragment of Giotto's fresco, including a contemporary portrait of a remarkable pope, is to be seen in the church of St. John's Lateran. The next painter of genius to give the movement an impetus was Masaccio, whose frescoes in Florence exercised a profound influence. In the church of S. Clemente there is a series of frescoes by Masaccio or by his master Masolino. If they are by the latter, as most experts think, more credit is due to him than has hitherto been awarded. Fra Angelico showed in his work in the chapel of St. Nicholas a decided sympathy with the progressive school, and it is not improbable that he was influenced by these frescoes. In no other paintings of the holy friar is so much attention given to perspective and dramatic action as in his Roman work. The Sistine chapel is a museum of Renaissance art, in which Perugino, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio and others of the leading Florentine artists worked side by side. It is impossible to speak with unreserved admiration of the contributions of Michael Angelo, which must always be marred by the thought that he was employed on an uncongenial task under most trying conditions. His Moses in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli shows what he might have accomplished had he not been commissioned by a masterful pope to decorate a ceiling. Raphael, on the other hand, was in his element in Rome. He was a favourite with

everyone and was fully occupied to the end of his too short life. His easel-pictures have been carried off to all the great galleries of the world, but Rome must be visited for his frescoes and decorative work. Velasquez, who does not come within our limits, left a record of his visit to Italy and of the influence of Italian colour on his mind in the wonderful portrait of Innocent X in the Doria gallery.

We cannot be surprised that the popes gathered round them this galaxy of Florentine talent in the early years of the sixteenth century. The great struggle with barbarism had become a part of the historic past and this was its fairest fruit. Goths, Vandals, and Lombards were represented by Raphael, Bramante, and Michael Angelo. But the world does not stand still, and the popes had not realised that children become adults and claim independence. While the old home was being redecorated new homes were being established, and the separation came within a very few years.

Pagan and Christian Rome had done their share in the fulfilment of Virgil's Messianic prophecy. Further progress demanded a wider stage than western Europe with a capital in Italy. Unexplored oceans and newly discovered continents were inviting those who still had the wandering spirit but were no longer barbarians to carry to every corner of the earth the knowledge of the 'divine event to which the whole creation moves.'

The following books will be found useful by those who wish to extend their knowledge on the whole subject or on any branch of it. I take the opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to their authors and of apologising in anticipation to them, and to all others who may be concerned, for any improper appropriation of their ideas:

Helby's 'Classical Antiquities of Rome.'

Huelssen's 'Forum.'

Amelung and Holtzinger's 'Museums and Ruins.'

Lanciani's 'Works.'

Dennie's 'Rome of Yesterday and To-day.'

Lowrie's 'Christian Art and Archæology.'
 Frothingham's 'Monuments of Christian Rome.'
 Barry's 'Papal Monarchy.'
 Miller's 'Medieval Rome.'
 Davis' 'Tombs of the Renaissance in Rome.'

THE PALATINE HILL

Primitive foundations	750-600 B.C.	Palace of Augustus	28 B.C.-14 A.D.
Remains of wall	c. 600 B.C.	" " Tiberius	14-37 A.D.
Altar to the unknown god	c. 390 B.C.	" " Caligula	37-41 A.D.
Temple of Jupiter Victor	294 B.C.	" " Domitian	81-96 A.D.
Temple of Cybele	192 B.C.	" " Hadrian	118-138 A.D.
House of Livia	50 B.C.	" " Sept. Severus	193-211 A.D.
Altar of the Regia	c. 50 B.C.	Pædagogium	c. 30 A.D.

THE early story of Rome, stripped of its romantic trappings, carries us back to a community of Latin shepherds established on the Palatine hill in the middle of the eighth century B.C. It is suggested that the hill derived its name from a shrine of Pales, the ancient god of shepherds, and that the settlement, owing to its proximity to the Tiber, was called Rome, from 'rumon,' an old Latin word for stream; and, further, that the name of the traditional founder, Romulus, was taken from the settlement itself. An amalgamation appears to have been made at an early date with a Sabine tribe of kindred origin on the Quirinal which was followed by a joint occupation of the neighbouring hills. The earliest form of government was monarchical and in course of time a dynasty of Etruscan kings was founded. About the year 500 the natives reasserted their independence and established the Republic, under which the city of the seven hills on the banks of the Tiber became the mistress of the known world. The disturbances of a social, followed by a civil, war led to the appointment of a dictator, and some of the more ambitious spirits began to feel the need of a master hand on the

helm. Julius Cæsar, the greatest of all the Romans and the most successful of their military commanders, was assassinated in 44 B.C. under the suspicion of monarchical aims, but his great-nephew and avenger, Octavius, was clothed with imperial power without the crown or title of king. From this date, a few years before the opening of the Christian era, an emperor was elected for life to all the great offices of state, while the senate still posed as the ruling power. For two centuries imperial Rome consolidated and expanded her possessions and brought western Europe within the pale of civilisation. But from the first a moral decadence set in, and from the third century the decline was rapid. Happily, Christianity, in spite of opposition and persecution, won over the better spirits and at the beginning of the fourth century was recognised by the Emperor Constantine as the prevailing religion. The imperial capital was moved to Constantinople, and after a time Rome was made the capital of its western division. This was abolished in 476, and the city was again under the control of the East until the middle of the eighth century. In the meantime the western provinces had fallen into the hands of barbarian tribes from northern Europe, and the main story of Rome between the fourth and the fourteenth centuries is the conflict between the Church and these barbarians, from which modern Europe was evolved on the foundations of the old empire.

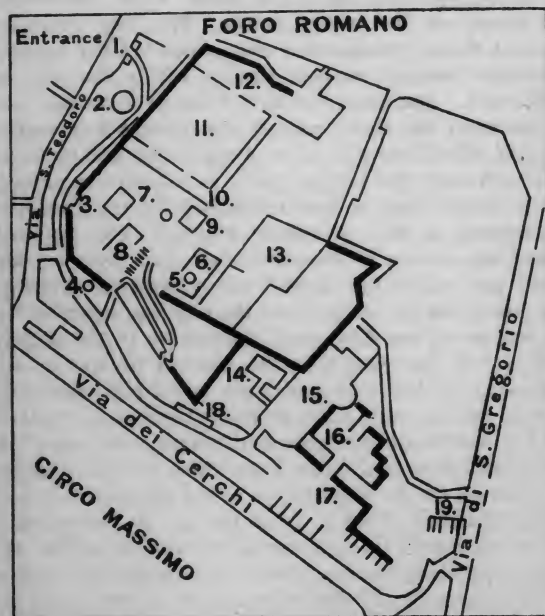
The Palatine (Plan i. 2), as the site of the original settlement, should be the scene of our first investigation.

The Palatine. Taking the road to the right of St. Theodore's church we shall find within a few hundred yards one of the oldest memorials of the city. Embedded in the hill-side on our left is a remnant of an old wall (Plan ii. 3) of the same date and appearance as the Servian wall, which inclosed the seven hills. It

was probably built by Servius Tullius, one of the last Etruscan kings, about the year 600 B.C. to replace the more primitive enclosure of the original settlement. It is characteristic Etruscan

work—massive tufa blocks put together without mortar and placed lengthwise and endwise in alternate layers. The style was called *opus quadratum* and was used by the Romans in their stonework to the end of the republican period.

PLAN II.—THE PALATINE



1. Entrance
2. S. Teodoro
3. Servian wall
4. Altar to the unknown god
5. Altar of the Regia
6. Temple of Jupiter Victor
7. Temple of Cybele
8. Primitive foundations
9. House of Livia
10. Cryptoporticus

11. Palace of Tiberius
12. " " Caligula
13. " " Domitian
14. " " Augustus
15. Stadium
16. Palace of Hadrian
17. " " Septimius Severus
18. Padagogium
19. Aqueduct

It so happens that a specimen of a later style of building may be seen in a ruined vault a little farther on. It was called *opus reticulatum* and consisted of bricks of pyramid shape, the pointed end of which was thrust into the concrete of a rubble wall, forming a diamond pattern on the surface. This method prevailed during the two centuries divided by the Christian era. After this date the tile-shaped bricks laid flatwise were introduced and have been in use ever since. The only way of dating ancient buildings of this style is by the quality of the material and work and by the stamp on the bricks.

We must now pass over two centuries from the time of Servius Tullius and another century from the time of Tarquinius Superbus, the last of the Etruscan kings. The Romans had established their republic about 500 B.C. and had overcome the attempt of the banished king to recover his position. They were once more at the head of the Latin tribes, when suddenly, in the year 391 B.C., the city was captured by a wild horde of Cisalpine Gauls, who had rushed through Italy from their homes on the south side of the Alps. This was the only time that the Servian wall was passed by an enemy. It was said that a mysterious voice warned the citizens before the surprise and that an altar was erected to their would-be protector. A little beyond the fragment of wall and opposite a modern building is an

Altar to the unknown god, altar inscribed: 'Sei deo sei deivæ sacrum' c. 390 B.C.

(Sacred to god or goddess) (Plan ii. 4), which is thought to be the altar of the Gallic invasion restored by Sextus Calvinus in 100 B.C.

Immediately beyond the modern building are some rough steps known as the Scalæ Caci, which descended to a gate in the wall at this corner. A footpath winds round the mound to the upper level and from a platform on the top a splendid view is obtained of (1) the Aventine, covered with trees, and monasteries beyond the Circus Maximus immediately below; (2) the Janiculum to the right, with an equestrian statue of Garibaldi towards its

north end; and (3) the Vatican with the beautiful dome of St. Peter's in its midst (Plan i.). The two last are on the other side of the river and did not belong to the seven hills.

Behind the platform are the remains of a temple (Plan ii. 6), approached by a series of steps in five flights, which commemorates an event just a hundred years later

than the capture of the city by the Gauls. Temple of Jupiter Victor, 294 B.C. It was the temple of Jupiter Victor, erected in 294 B.C. after a victory over the Samnites,

Rome's chief rivals amongst the Latin tribes. The success of the Gauls had thrown Rome back a century, and this was the event which brought her again to her position of supremacy in Latium. This date should be remembered as marking the beginning of her great expansion.

The solitary altar on the top flight but one (Plan ii. 5) has been removed for some unknown reason from the Forum. It was erected by Domitius Calvinus,

one of Julius Cæsar's successful generals, when he restored the Regia, the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, with the spoils of victory. Altar of the Regia, c. 50 B.C.

The subjection of the Etruscans, a people of ancient civilisation to the north of the Tiber, whose name and genius for art survived in Tuscany, followed that of the Samnites. It seemed at this point as if Rome was to be mistress of Italy, when a series of events brought her into conflict with foreign powers and left her the mistress of the world.

A petition came from some Greek cities in South Italy and Sicily for help against Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who was far more powerful than Rome in a military sense. But he had to learn that Rome always won in the end.

Next came Carthage, the Phœnician colony of North Africa, the great commercial and naval power of the Mediterranean. The Carthaginians already

had a footing in Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily, and it was again through a dispute with the Greek cities of Sicily that Rome became involved. It was a life-and-death struggle, and on it depended whether the civilisation of the Mediterranean was to be of the Oriental

or Occidental type. For more than a hundred years, between 264 and 146 B.C., the conflict was carried on with intervals in what are called the three Punic Wars. In the second of these wars Hannibal marched from Spain into Italy and remained for fifteen years. He was helped by the Cisalpine Gauls, Samnites, and other discontented Italians, but never passed the Servian wall. His most dangerous move was an alliance with the Macedonians, which was met by a counter-alliance between Rome and Attalus, King of Pergamus, thus bringing the whole basin of the Mediterranean into the quarrel. At a very critical period of the war the Romans determined that they would seek the help not only of the king but of the gods of Pergamus. The Sibylline books were consulted and a passage found which justified the introduction of Cybele, the Phrygian mother of the gods, into Rome. Attalus sent a famous image, a meteoric stone in reality,

and a temple was built on the Palatine for the worship of the goddess in 192 B.C. Beyond the steps of Cacus are the remains of this temple of Cybele (Plan ii. 7), overgrown with ilex, and against the wall is a torso of the goddess of a later date. Temple of Cybele, 192 B.C.

The result of the Punic Wars was (1) the destruction of Carthage and the conversion of its territory into a Roman province; (2) the annexation of Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, and Spain, and their formation into provinces; (3) the conquest of Macedonia and the establishment of another province, including Greece; (4) the complete subjection of their old enemy the Cisalpine Gauls and the consequent expansion of Roman Italy to the Alps. All this took place by the year 146 B.C.

Between the ruins of the temple of Cybele and the steps of Cacus is a confused mass of primitive foundations

still in process of excavation (Plan ii. 8). Primitive foundations, 750-600 B.C. Nothing as yet has been identified, though there have been many guesses, but they clearly belong to structures of a very early period. Near the point at which the fissure is crossed is a stone grain-store and wall of Etruscan construction.

In a single century Rome had bounded from the headship of central Italy to that of the known world. The Romans were born rulers and organisers; they had no difficulty in finding able men to administer their new possessions, but the accumulation of wealth and power changed their characters, and the removal of danger abroad brought new troubles at home. First came a social war because the allies clamoured for new privileges; then a civil war between the followers of two successful generals. In the meantime the boundaries went on expanding; in 64 B.C. the province of Pontus near the Black Sea was formed; in 63 B.C. Syria, including Palestine and Jerusalem, succumbed to Pompey. It became daily more evident that a city democracy could not govern a world-wide empire and that a strong hand was needed at the helm. In 49 B.C. Julius Cæsar, after conquering and organising Gaul, crossed the Rubicon and marched to Rome at the head of his victorious army in direct defiance of his country's laws. He was welcomed by the people, made consul and dictator for life, and, after defeating the army of the senate under Pompey at Pharsalus, was on the verge of being crowned king when he was assassinated in Rome in 44 B.C. His great-nephew Octavius revenged his death and accumulated in his own person all the high offices of state with the title of Augustus. This constituted what history calls the empire.

The Palatine, during the later years of the republic, became the favourite residential quarter of prominent and wealthy citizens, such as Cicero, Hortensius, Clodius, and others. One of these houses may still be seen near the temple of Cybele. It is called the house of Livia (Plan ii. 9), who was the widow of Augustus, and was probably built by her first husband, the father of Tiberius. In it Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, brought up her children—Caligula (afterwards emperor) and Agrippina the younger, who became the wife of Claudius and the mother of Nero. The house has a small atrium, from which the tablinum

House of
Livia,
50 B.C.

and two wing-rooms open on one side and the triclinium, or dining-room, and the kitchen on the other; there were small rooms at the back, and a second storey, but the arrangement must not be taken as that of a typical Roman house. The diminutive reception-rooms, with their frescoed walls and mosaic floors, illustrate the simplicity of life in the first days of the empire. The picture of Io watched by Argus and about to be rescued by Mercury may be first-
Fresco, first or second century.
 century work; but the names of Julia the daughter of Titus, of Domitian, and of a lead-worker under Septimius Severus, on some pipes on the wall, remind us that the house was occupied to the end of the second century. A fracture in the stucco of the dining-room enables us to see how frescoes were preserved from damp by the insertion of tile ventilation.

The rest of the Palatine is taken up by the sites or ruins of imperial residences or buildings connected with them. It will be useful before visiting them to recall the names and succession of the first emperors: Augustus (28 B.C.—14 A.D.), Tiberius (14–37), Caligula (37–41), Claudius (41–54), Nero (54–68). After three elections in one year, puppets and victims of the army, came the Flavian emperors—Vespasian (70–80) and his two sons, Titus (80–81) and Domitian (81–96); succeeded by the series of good emperors—Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, covering nearly a century (96–180).

A passage by the side of the house of Livia leads into an underground corridor or cryptoporticus (Plan ii. 10), from which a staircase ascends to the plateau above. It was in the cryptoporticus that Caligula met with his death at the hands of assassins, who escaped by the house of Livia. The plateau, now laid out as a garden, was the site of the palace of Tiberius (Plan ii. 11), the only remains of which are still buried. In the north-west corner, looking towards the Capitol on one side and over the Forum on the other,

Palace of
Tiberius,
14–37 A.D.

Caligula built a palace on arches extending beyond the hill (Plan ii. 12). He is said to have turned the temple of Castor and Pollux into a vestibule and to have connected the roofs of the Forum buildings, so that he could easily visit his brother Jupiter on the Capitol. This was during the sad days of his insanity. There is nothing of monumental interest on this plateau, but it is full of historical associations. Leaving by the same corner we approach the ruins of the one palace which shows what a Roman imperial residence was like and why all royal residences ever since have been associated in name with the Palatine. The ruins are those of the palace of Domitian (Plan ii. 13), on the site of the first of the imperial palaces built by Augustus and destroyed by the fire of Nero. The principal frontage was to the north looking towards the Forum, where the form of the vestibule, with its balconies, flights of steps, and colonnades can be traced. The middle doorway led into the throne-room, which we must picture with its marble panels, coffered ceiling, and statues in its square and circular niches. In the apse was the imperial throne used on state occasions, such as the reception of foreign embassies, levees, and audiences. To the right of the throne-room was the hall of judgment, where the emperor sat as the supreme dispenser of state law; it was divided into a nave and two aisles and ended in an apse, which was separated from the body of the hall by a cancellus or rail. This threefold division, which was common to the basilica and to the atrium of a domestic house, was the origin of the ground plan of the Christian church. As this palace was used for official purposes as long as the empire lasted it may be supposed that many of the more prominent Christian martyrs were brought here for trial. To the left of the throne-room was the lararium, the shrine of the household gods. Beyond the throne-room was an extensive inner court surrounded by colonnades, corresponding to the more humble atrium of the private house, with small rooms on

Palace of
Caligula,
37-41 A.D.

Palace of
Domitian,
81-96 A.D.

either side. This opened into the great banquet-hall with a recess for the royal table, and to the right a retiring-room with fountain, called a nymphæum—an arrangement probably repeated on the other side. The bases of columns, niches for statues, fragments of marble, and the exceptionally fine piece of mosaic flooring in the recess, will help us to picture the magnificence of these state apartments. The domestic portion of the palace is under the site of the Villa Mills which is now being excavated.

If we descend the hill to the first level and pass round the inclosed part, we find ourselves in a natural depression of the Palatine which has been levelled and converted into a pleasure-ground. During the reigns of various emperors it appears to have undergone several changes from a garden to a stadium, by which name it is now known (Plan ii. 15). The oval wall at the south end was probably a late addition, as the bricks are stamped with the name of Theodoric (493-526). Opposite this wall and near the south entrance a passage to the left leads to three of the private rooms of the palace (Plan ii. 14). The designs of these rooms, with their many niches—and especially of the third, which is octagonal with square and circular niches and with a cupola roof lighted from above—show considerable ingenuity on the part of the architect. The high semicircular recess in the middle of the east wall of the Stadium is thought to be a part of some additions which Hadrian made to the palace on this side (Plan ii. 16). A

Palace of
Hadrian,
118-138 A.D.

Palace of
Septimius
Severus,
193-211 A.D.

staircase in the north-east corner enables us to pass through these buildings, which are of no great interest, to the ruins of the Palace of Septimius Severus, who followed the example of Caligula in building on substructures beyond the hill (Plan ii. 17). The front of his palace was known as the septizonium—probably because it contained seven tiers of arches. Septimius Severus was an African by birth, and both he and his son Caracalla chose the southern entrance to Rome,

by which their countrymen would come, for their architectural efforts.

The enormous mass of the ruined baths of Caracalla is well seen from this point, as are the arches of the aqueduct by which water was brought to the Palatine.

Returning to the Stadium and passing through the southern exit we reach a road leading down to a lower path. At the bottom of this incline is a block of buildings fronted formerly by a portico of granite columns, of which only one remains, the others having been replaced by brick pillars. This was the house and school of the imperial pages (Plan ii. 18), and on one of the

Paedagogium, walls was found the well-known caricature of the Crucifixion which has been removed to the Museo Kircheriano. Before leaving the Palatine the road on the Forum side, passing through the sub-structures of the palace of Caligula, should be traversed for the sake of the view, &c.

It is important here and always in Rome to recollect the vast intervals of time which separated the foundation of the monuments we see. Between the Servian wall and the altar of the unknown god, between the altar and the temple of Cybele, between the temple and the palace of Tiberius, between this palace and that of Septimius Severus, there were, roughly speaking, intervals of two centuries each, making eight centuries in all, though we have not passed beyond 200 A.D.

THE FORUM

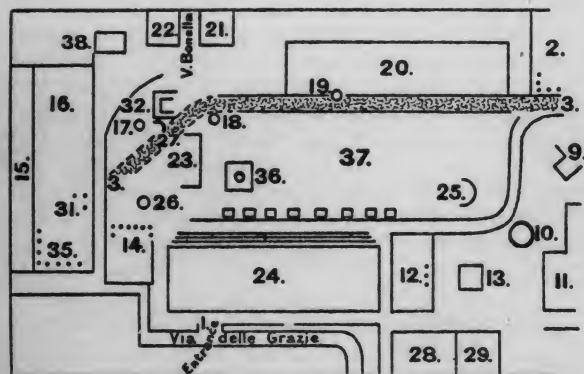
Ancient necropolis	1000-600 B.C.	Basilica Æmilia	179 B.C.
Temple of Jupiter Stator		Basilica Julia	46 B.C.
Regia		Temple of Julius Cæsar	29 B.C.
Temple of Vesta		Milliarium Aureum	28 B.C.
House of Vestal Virgins		Temple of Augustus	14 A.D.
Curia	750-500 B.C.	Temple of the Sacred City	69 A.D.
Vulcanal		Temple of Vespasian	81 A.D.
Lapis Niger		Arch of Titus	81 A.D.
Sacellum Cloacinae		T. of Antoninus and Faustina	141 A.D.
Temple of Saturn		Arch of Septimius Severus	203 A.D.
Temple of Castor and Pollux	496 B.C.	Temple of young Romulus	300 A.D.
Shrine of Juturna	496 B.C.	Basilica of Constantine	300 A.D.
Temple of Concord	366 B.C.	Portico of Dei Consentes	367 A.D.
Rostra	338 B.C.	Column of Phocas	602 A.D.

ACCORDING to the traditional story, Romulus, finding a superabundance of males in the Palatine settlement, invited the Sabines, a Latin tribe on the Quirinal, to a friendly contest and took the opportunity of carrying off the daughters. A fight ensued, which Jupiter, in answer to the prayer of Romulus, 'stayed' through the mediation of the Palatine brides. The result was an alliance between the Romans and the Sabines, a joint temple to Jupiter on the Capitol, and a common meeting-ground in what is called the Forum. Thus three of the seven hills came into use—the Palatine, Capitol, and Quirinal; the Esquiline and Viminal, which are promontories of the same tableland as the Quirinal and run parallel with it, followed; the Cœlian and Aventine, which would be necessary to the others for defensive reasons, completed the number (Plan i.).

The central point of the seven hills is a valley, through which a stream running between the Palatine and the Capitol carried the water to the Tiber. When the increasing population required the whole of this space it was drained by means of the Cloaca Maxima, and became the centre of public life. In it were the temple of Vesta and the house of the Pontifex Maximus, the senate-house and the meeting-place of the tribes, the forum and the market-booths—the religious, political, and commercial centres of the city—and through it

passed the Sacra Via to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Temples, law-courts, statues, memorial columns, and triumphal arches were added as time went on, until the whole space was covered with public buildings. Happily the passage of some fifteen centuries, during the greater part of which Rome remained the centre of European life, has not obliterated all traces, but has left enough to make a veritable museum of ancient Roman history *in situ*.

PLAN III.—

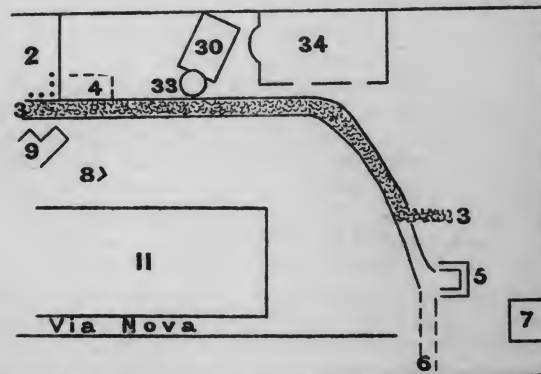


- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Entrance | 10. Temple of Vesta |
| 2. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina | 11. House of the Vestal Virgins |
| 3. Sacred Way | 12. Temple of Castor and Pollux |
| 4. Ancient necropolis | 13. Spring of Juturna |
| 5. Arch of Titus | 14. Temple of Saturn |
| 6. Porta Mugonia | 15. Tabularium |
| 7. Temple of Jupiter Stator | 16. Temple of Concord |
| 8. Domus Publica | 17. The Vulcanal |
| 9. Regia | 18. The Lapis Niger |

On entering the Forum, as the whole of the inclosed space is now called, it will be well to cross to a building with lofty columns on a flight of steps, formerly the temple of Antoninus and Faustina (Plan iii. 2), which is immediately opposite. Above the temple is a piece of

ground recently levelled and an inclosed pit labelled Sepulcretum. This is the site of an ancient necropolis in which have been found cremated and buried human remains, with pottery, ornaments, and fragments of weapons (Plan iii. 4). Experts date its use between 1000 and 600 B.C., when it would be necessarily closed by the building of the Servian wall, as burials were never allowed within the city. The earlier date would show that there were

THE FORUM



- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 19. Sacellum Cloacinae | 29. Sta Maria Antica |
| 20. Basilica Æmilia | 30. Temple Sacra Urbis |
| 21. Curia | 31. Temple Vespasian |
| 22. Secretarium | 32. Arch of Sept. Severus |
| 23. Rostra | 33. Temple of young Romulus |
| 24. Basilica Julia | 34. Basilica Constantina |
| 25. Temple of Julius Cæsar | 35. Portico Dei Consentes |
| 26. Milliarium | 36. Column of Phocas |
| 27. Umbilicus Urbis | 37. Roman Forum |
| 28. Temple of Augustus | 38. Mamertine Prison |

human dwellers in the locality before the Palatine settlement of 754 B.C.

The road in front of the necropolis is the Sacra Via, which we will follow to its original starting-point near the arch of Titus (Plan iii. 5), just beyond which on the

right is the unshapely core of an old rubble building with occasional massive blocks of peperino. This is

believed to be the remains of the temple of Jupiter Stator (the Stayer), originally erected by Romulus in fulfilment of the vow made

during the fight which followed the rape of the Sabine women (Plan iii. 7). There is a record of a restoration of the temple by Atilius Regulus in 294 B.C. Near the present site of the arch of Titus, to which we will return presently, was the Porta Mugonia, or lowing gate, in the Palatine wall, so called because it was the only approach to the hill by which cattle could be driven within the inclosure (Plan iii. 6). The road from this gate to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, passing

by the most venerated buildings of the ancient city, was the original Sacra Via (Plan iii. 3).

The actual course of this famous road is in dispute. The most recent authorities think it ran from this point to the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, passing the Regia on the left, and thence direct to the spot now spanned by the arch of Septimius Severus, from which it wound up the Clivus Capitolinus. It would in this case pass between the old Forum Romanum (Plan iii. 37) and the Curia or senate house (Plan iii. 21). The alternative route passes between the Regia (Plan iii. 9) and the Domus Publica (Plan iii. 8) to the temples of Vesta (Plan iii. 10) and of Castor and Pollux (Plan iii. 12), and thence straight through the middle of the valley by the temple of Saturn (Plan iii. 14) to the Clivus Capitolinus. The amusing story told by Horace of the irrepressible bore who buttonholed him as he was sauntering along the sacred way, 'meditans de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis,' implies that he got rid of him near the temple of Vesta. One cause of difficulty is the change that was made in the orientation of buildings and streets in the early imperial days. This is to be seen in the Regia, which was founded in the monarchical period; it is opposite the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and stands parallel to it on one side and inclined

Temple of
Jupiter
Stator, 750-
500 B.C.

The
Sacra Via.

to it on another, the angle representing the pre-imperial orientation. The Regia (Plan iii. 9) was the house of the king, who was also Pontifex Maximus.

When the monarchy was abolished, it was retained as the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, and a dwelling-house called the Domus Publica was provided for him close by. Within the Regia were shrines of Mars and of Ops, the wife of Saturn, both in their original signification pastoral deities. Mars was at first the god of vegetation and became the god of war as the defender of the crops. There is a remarkable circular structure in one of the rooms which some think was a part of the shrine of Mars. On the walls of the Regia the names of the consuls and of the generals to whom a public triumph was granted and a copy of the State Calendar were exhibited. One of the acts of Julius Cæsar as Pontifex Maximus was the reform of the calendar. He made January the opening month instead of April, assigned the existing number of days to the months and introduced the extra day of leap-year. With the exception of the slight modifications made by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, which constitute the new style, our calendar is that of the great dictator.

The Domus Publica has almost entirely disappeared. When Augustus, who was Pontifex Maximus and everything else, went to live on the Palatine, he gave it to the Vestal Virgins, and it was pulled down to enlarge their house. A fragment of mosaic flooring below their rooms and of the pre-imperial orientation is all that is visible (Plan iii. 8).

Below the Regia and on the other side of the road is the temple of Vesta (Plan iii. 10). This was essentially the home of the state in its religious aspect, the sacred hearth of the nation. The family was the unit of Roman law and order, the father representing authority, the children obedience, and the hearth the country. In primitive times the kindling of a fire was a serious matter, and the guardianship

Domus
Publica,
500 B.C.

Temple of
Vesta,
750-500 B.C.

of the common fire in the chieftain's hut was the sacred duty of his daughter. Thence was derived the maintenance of the symbolical fire by a body of noble maidens consecrated for the purpose. The Vestal Virgins, four at first and afterwards six, were admitted as children between six and ten years of age and served for thirty years. If a virgin allowed the fire to go out she was beaten with rods, but the penalty for unchastity was a living burial.

The Vestal Virgins had opportunities of serving the state in connexion with other religious ceremonies, had the guardianship of important national treasures, and were granted many privileges. They sat in seats of honour at the public games, were almost the only citizens allowed to drive within the walls, had the protection of a lictor on their walks, and could pardon any criminal they met. The temple, which was rebuilt many times, always retained the circular shape of the primitive hut. It contained no statue, but a still existing shrine was built against a neighbouring wall.

The house of the Vestal Virgins (Plan iii. 11) behind the temple represents the luxurious establishment of the imperial days. Enlarged by the addition of the *Domus Publica* in the days of Augustus, the present remains belong to the rebuilding of Septimius Severus (193-212 A.D.). The splendid atrium, with its fountain tanks and octagonal base of a central arbour, said to represent the ancient grove, stands in the middle of a three-storied palace with tablinum, or room of honour, and other apartments at one end. Under the colonnades and in the rooms opening from the corridor are traces of handsome mosaic pavements, marble-lined and frescoed walls, elaborate heating arrangements, &c.; upstairs are bathroom and fountain, and in the kitchen the cook's handmill is still in place. In the aisles of the atrium are majestic statues of the chief vestals in official dress with laudatory inscriptions on the pedestals.

The ground plan is representative of the fully

House of
the Vestal
Virgins,
750-500 B.C.

developed Roman house of the best period, upon which domestic buildings on an important scale were based for many centuries; it is still familiar to us in monastic establishments and collegiate buildings with their central quadrangle.

But a more important derivation is the ground plan of our churches. During the two and a half centuries of persecution the Christians assembled for purposes of worship in the houses of wealthy converts. The atrium was used for the congregation, the tablinum and adjacent rooms for the clergy, and the domestic altar for the Eucharist. When the atrium was covered for protection against weather, light was obtained by means of a clerestory. Those who are familiar with *Sta Maria Maggiore* or *St. Paul's* outside the walls, two of Rome's largest and least altered early churches, will see at a glance the similarity. The transepts were formed by bringing the side rooms forward for greater convenience, and at a later date were lengthened for symbolical reasons to form a cross.

In front of the temple of Vesta and of the house of the Vestal Virgins rise the three white Corinthian columns of the temple of Castor and Pollux (Plan iii. 12). Its foundation dates from the first days of the republic. After the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, about the year 500 B.C., an attempt was made by the Etruscan monarch to recover his position by force. The Romans did not wait for his attack but encountered him on the shores of Lake Regillus. Their commander had discovered that the Etruscans worshipped Castor and Pollux, two Greek gods, and made a vow that if he were victorious their worship should also be introduced into Rome. On the night of the battle two young men were seen watering their horses at a spring in the Forum, and from them the citizens received the news of the victory. Castor and Pollux had come to claim the price of their help and were accorded a shrine. The present ruins belong to a restoration of the reign of Trajan or of

Temple of
Castor and
Pollux,
496 B.C.

Hadrian, and, like most of the imperial temples, are of Greek architecture. Within one of the arches between the columns was placed the public testing-office of weights and measures.

The spring which was associated with this interesting legend was consecrated to Juturna, the goddess of fountains, and is still supplied with water.

The
Spring of
Juturna.

It is between this temple and the house of the Vestals, and retains its marble basin and altar pedestal; on the edge, though not in place, is an altar with reliefs of Castor and Pollux, Jupiter with his sceptre, Leda and the swan, and a goddess with a torch. Behind it are a shrine with a headless figure of Æsculapius and the mutilated horses of the twin gods. To the right, again, are another altar, a well head and shrine, on all of which are inscribed references to Juturna (Plan iii. 13).

The road passes from the temple of Vesta, before the north front of the temple of Castor and Pollux, and in a straight line through the centre of the Forum to the point where, according to the alternative theory of the Sacra Via, the Clivus Capitolinus began to wind up the hill. Here, on the edge of the old marsh, are the ruins of another very old shrine, the foundation of which goes back to the very earliest days—the temple of

Temple of
Saturn.

Saturn (Plan iii. 14). The eight granite columns with Ionic capitals standing on a solid stone-faced podium belong to a restoration of the fourth century A.D. after the empire had become Christian. The temple contained rooms especially designed for the custody of the state treasure, and as such it was maintained by the senate long after Saturn had been disestablished. The December festival in connexion with the worship of this god, called the Saturnalia, was the great time of Roman merry-making and was transposed by the Christian Church into the festivities of Christmas.

Across the modern road which here divides the inclosure is the huge Palazzo del Senatore, the lower

portion of which is of the construction used in the Servian wall—long and short blocks of peperino. It

belonged to the Tabularium or record office
The
Tabularium,
80 B.C.

(Plan iii. 15) built in the year 80 B.C., and is one of the few remaining examples of actual republican work. It was utilised by the thirteenth-century builders of the senator's palace, to which the fortress tower at the north-eastern corner was added a little later—a reminiscence of the days of misrule. The builders filled up the arches of the long gallery which occupied the whole of the second storey, leaving one with its columns and architrave to show the design.

Immediately under the north-eastern end of the Tabularium are the foundations and portions of the podium of the temple of Concord (Plan iii. 16), built in 366 B.C. in commemoration of the adjustment of the political quarrel between the patricians and plebeians which had lasted over a century. Overshadowing the Comitium—the sacred patrician inclosure—the first temple dedicated to a personified virtue was an ever-present reminder of the natural rights of man.

To our right, close to the arch of Septimius Severus (Plan iii. 32), is another sacred spot of primitive days—a rough stone under a temporary shelter representing the shrine or altar of Vulcan (Plan iii. 17) and carrying us back to the transition from the Stone to the Bronze Age.

The
Vulcanal.

In front of the arch of Septimius Severus is still another sacred spot of recent excavation which has provoked considerable controversy. Its main feature is a mysterious black stone, the Lapis Niger (Plan iii. 18), venerated in the classic days as a relic of primitive times, of which the meaning had been forgotten. It was associated in some way with the grave of Romulus, but how no one could say. The stone in its present position has the imperial orientation and therefore underwent a restoration after the empire was established, but simply as an object of

The Lapis
Niger.

reverence. Beneath it have been found portions of pedestals, bases of tufa and a stele with a mutilated inscription written in vertical lines and therefore of great antiquity; the words are too fragmentary to be intelligible and belong to a date certainly not later than the fifth century B.C.

Turning towards the temple of Antoninus and Faustina the ruins of a considerable building on our left are passed, the Basilica Æmilia (Plan iii. 20), in front of which is the small circular base of an altar, called the Sacellum Cloacinæ (Plan iii. 19), the shrine of the Cloaca Maxima. It marks the place where the great drain enters the Forum and is a religious acknowledgment of its value. The valley between the Palatine and the Capitol being the recipient of the water which came down the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline, was in primitive days a quagmire. The Etruscans, during the period of their ascendancy, drained it and conferred a lasting benefit on Rome.

The building behind it marks a new departure in Roman civilisation. It was not actually but nearly the first of its kind and is the oldest now in evidence. It was one of the first-fruits of the connexion with Greece which revolutionised Rome in many ways and in none more than in architecture. We have seen Greek designs in the temples of Castor and Pollux and Saturn because these remains belong to restorations of a late date. In

the Basilica Æmilia (Plan iii. 20) we come to a Greek building for civil purposes. It was a copy of a building in Athens used for legal and administrative purposes by the Archon Basileus and for that reason called a basilica. In form it was a covered atrium with a recess at one or both ends for the president's seat; sometimes a gallery ran above the colonnades and sometimes there were rooms apart from the main hall. The nearest modern equivalent to a basilica is a public hall, and its typical form was that of the building from which it was originally copied. But the Roman basilicæ were by no means of one style

Shrine of
the Cloaca
Maxima.

Basilica
Æmilia,
179 B.C.

or of one plan. The need of such buildings in Rome is shown by the fact that the first was built in 185 B.C. by Cato, a notorious opponent of Greek innovations. His example was followed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus in 179 B.C. in this building, which was restored by a member of the same family in 22 B.C. and was always known by their name. When it was finally destroyed by fire, probably during a barbarian invasion, a quantity of half-molten coins fell on the pavement of the large hall, where they still bear witness to the great destroyer of man's handiwork.

The culminating figure of the Republic and the creator of the empire was Julius Cæsar. The experiences acquired in their world-wide dominion, the problems of military conquest and organisation, of civil administration and universal legislation, and the continuous contact with people of various kinds and degrees of culture, stimulated the energies of the ruling race to the utmost. The results were most visible about the time the empire was formed, when the greatest statesmen, orators and poets flourished, the days of Pompey, Cæsar and Cicero, Agrippa and Mæcenas, Virgil and Horace, of whom far the greatest was Cæsar, great as soidier, writer, statesman and organiser. In any list of the world's greatest men the name of Julius Cæsar will be found. Five years after his return from Gaul at the head of his army he was assassinated in Pompey's theatre, not far from the present Campo di Fiore. The senate house built by Tullus Hostilius had been burnt down in the Clodian riots, and Cæsar was rebuilding it; the senate was consequently meeting in the new stone building erected by Pompey in the Campus Martius, and there the Republican purists, headed by Brutus, prosecuted their political faith by the method favoured by anarchists.

The Curia Julia, or senate house, built by Cæsar on the site of the building burnt down (Plan iii. 21),

was a little to the right of the arch of
The Curia. Septimius Severus. It underwent restoration by Diocletian in 301 A.D. and in the seventh century

was converted into a Christian church. The building formed the council chamber of the senate and was connected by an enclosed atrium, now the Via Bonella, with another building called the Secretarium (Plan iii. 22), in which were the offices and private rooms of the senate. The latter building is now represented by the church of Sta Martina. The senate under the empire elected the emperors, when the army allowed them, and acted as a legislative body; its weakest feature was that it always posed as the ruling power.

The open space in front of the senate house was the Comitium, the meeting place of the patricians, and in front of this again the rostra or platform from which they addressed the people. In the Comitium legal trials took place in the open air in the early days, and the inclosure formed the political and legal centre of the city. With the increase of population and change of habits these arrangements ceased to be practical, the patricians no longer met in the open, and the trials took place in the basilicæ. Cæsar therefore moved the rostra to the west end of the commercial forum, the original Forum Romanum (Plan iii. 37), which was capable of holding a large audience. This rectangular space which is bounded by the Sacra Via, whichever interpretation is accepted, and the continuation of the Vicus Tuscus, was the commercial centre of the city and gave its name later to the whole valley.

The front wall of the new Rostra (Plan iii. 23) stands on the spot assigned to it by Cæsar. The holes are still to be seen by which the rostra or beaks taken from captured ships were affixed, and close by are two marble slabs with bas reliefs on both sides which formed the central ornament of the balustrade at either end of the rostra platform. The bas reliefs illustrate episodes in the reign of Trajan (98-117 A.D.). In one the emperor is seen on the rostra announcing to the

The
Secretarium.

The
Comitium.

Forum
Romanum.

The Rostra.

Bas reliefs
of Trajan.

citizens the provision he had made for poor children, and at the other end of the same slab he is being thanked by a grateful mother. The statue of Marsyas and the fig tree which appear in both reliefs were familiar objects at this end of the Forum and mark the site of the incidents. The scene on the other slab shows Trajan ordering the provincial account books, which recorded the arrears of taxes, to be burned. On the reverse side of each slab are the animals offered at the Suovetaurilia, a solemn state sacrifice of purification.

The central road divides the commercial forum from the spacious Basilica Julia (Plan iii. 24), planned and begun by Cæsar and rebuilt after a fire by Augustus in 12 A.D. It was approached by a flight of steps from the street, had two stories of open arcades, and a gabled roof over the central space, which was probably lighted by a clerestory. In addition to the large hall, which was made to accommodate four law courts or one at pleasure, there were many small chambers for private business, and a gallery round the hall.

The only other building in the Forum connected with the Dictator is the memorial erected by his great-nephew and successor Augustus, the Templum Divi Julii (Plan iii. 25). His body had been brought from the place of assassination and burnt amid signs of public grief in front of the Regia, his official residence, and the ashes had been reverently placed in the Julian tomb in the Campus Martius. We have become familiarised with the scene through Shakespeare's description, but it is impossible to sympathise with the next step. The decree of the senate which placed Cæsar in the ranks of the gods and the erection of a temple in which divine worship should be paid him showed that Rome was no longer fitted for the position she had attained in the world. She had absorbed much that was valuable from other races, especially from the Greeks, and much that was evil, especially from the East. There was a clear need for a new religion, and it

Basilica
Julia.

Temple of
Cæsar.

is not without significance that the Founder of Christianity was born in the world at the time Rome began to worship her emperors. There is not much left of the temple of Divus Julius except the core and a semicircular niche in which the altar stood.

Of Augustus we shall find memorials in other parts of the city. In the Forum, a little to the right of the temple of Saturn, there is a circular brick core with portions of a marble cylinder and cornice, which formed the base of the *Milliarium Aureum* or golden milestone (Plan iii. 26). One of the many practical works of the first emperor was the accurate measurement of the distances between Rome and its chief provincial cities; these were engraved on a bronze cylinder which covered this marble fragment.

*Milliarium
Aureum.*

Near the arch of Septimius Severus was a somewhat similar though less useful cone-shaped monument, of which the brick core remains. It was the *Umbilicus Urbis Romæ* (Plan iii. 27), the ideal centre of the city, erected by Diocletian (284-306) in imitation of a Greek custom.

*Umbilicus
Urbis
Romæ.*

Close to the entrance to the Forum and to the right of the temple of Castor and Pollux is the huge, unsightly brick skeleton of the *Templum Divi Augusti* erected after his death by Tiberius (Plan iii. 28). The walls are filled with niches in which were placed in after years the statues and busts of the imperial family—a much more economical form of apotheosis.

The three emperors of the Julian family who succeeded Tiberius—Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, have left no memorials in the Forum, unless the destruction caused by the fire in the reign of the latter may be counted as such. After Nero's death the election of emperors by the soldiers began. The prætorian guard in Rome chose Galba, who was assassinated, then Otho, who committed suicide. The armies of Germany and of the East chose their commanders Vitellius and Vespasian, the former of whom succumbed to the

superior military skill of his rival. Thus Vespasian (69-79), the fourth emperor after Nero, succeeded him within twelve months.

We shall have a further opportunity of seeing the work of this able ruler who was, however, too much influenced by a desire for popularity. He is said to

have built the *Templum Sacræ Urbis* (Plan iii. 30), which is behind a small circular temple above that of Antoninus and Faustina. It

*Templum
Sacræ Urbis.*

was used as a depository for the archives and documents relating to city property, which had been thrown into confusion by the fire of Nero. The wall of tufa blocks with a round-arched travertine doorway (blocked) is probably a part of this building. It was restored by Septimius Severus, who fixed on the brick wall at the north end the large marble map of the city now in the garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitol. Beneath this wall is a piece of pavement belonging to the Forum of Vespasian (Plan v. c.). The opportunity should also be taken of seeing the remains of a circular staircase on the top of a huge block of concrete which has fallen in this yard from the roof of the Basilica of Constantine. The Flavian dynasty founded by Vespasian could not be allowed to lag behind their aristocratic predecessors. Domitian, therefore, chose a prominent site for a *Templum Divi Vespasiani et*

*Temple of
Vespasian,
81 A.D.*

Divi Titi (Plan iii. 31)—his father and brother —between the portico of the *Dei Consentes*, the twelve great gods of early mythology (Plan iii. 35), and the temple of Concord (Plan iii. 16), the least objectionable of the newly invented deities. Between the temple of Saturn and the *Tabularium*, a modern road appropriately dividing them, rise the three columns of the building which attested the divinity of the imperial pair. The work is of the best Roman period, as may be seen by the design of the side cornice, on the frieze of which are carved the sacrificial implements.

Vespasian's son and successor, Titus, is represented

by the earliest of the existing triumphal arches so distinctly Roman in idea and design and so highly appreciated in later art. They embody, it is true, Greek columns, architrave and attic, but the main feature is the Roman arch. The arch of Titus (Plan iii. 5), which was erected after his death, as will be seen by the word *Divus* in the inscription, was moved by Hadrian some yards to the south to make room for the temple he built, and has undergone considerable restoration in modern days. It commemorates the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem and the return of the victor to Rome with the seven-branched candlestick, table of shewbread, and silver jubilee trumpets, which are depicted in the bas reliefs within the arch. These reliefs are remarkable for two reasons—(1) as contemporary illustrations of this sacred furniture, and (2) as representations of Roman art at its best period. The design is simple, containing two incidents of the triumphal procession, the emperor in his chariot preceded by lictors and crowned by Rome, and the carriage of the trophies, but the execution shows artistic power of very high quality. The art is Roman in character and in spirit, realistic and not ideal, and shows that the Romans in subjects that appealed to them could accomplish more than is usually admitted. On the soffit Titus is being carried to heaven on the back of an eagle.

The destruction of Jerusalem was the result of circumstances of which Titus was quite unconscious. The long story of the Jews, extending back many centuries before the foundation of Rome, was in a higher sense than that of Rome a preparation for Christianity. A local sanctity had been given to the city and temple and everything therein, which in due course was to be merged in the world-wide sanctity of the fully developed religion. But the perversity of man, as usual, brought trouble where there need have been none. A considerable number of Jews used their privileged position as a weapon against, instead of for,

Arch
of Titus,
81 A.D.

Christianity, and thereby provoked the prophecy (St. Luke xix, 41-44) which Titus fulfilled.

The Roman senate never debated to better purpose than in 96 A.D. when they elected Nerva, an aged senator without military experience, to succeed the tyrannical Domitian, the last of the Flavians. Nerva only survived his election two years, but during that time he chose as his successor Trajan, a native of Spain, who at the time was in command of the legions in Germany. The method of selection and adoption went on with the happiest results for a century, during which the empire was governed by a succession of competent rulers. We have already seen Trajan's bas reliefs which are his only contribution to the existing memorials of the Forum; that of his successor, Hadrian, the temple of Venus and Rome, is just outside the present artificial barrier. Hadrian adopted

Temple of
Antoninus
and Faustina,
141 A.D.

Antoninus Pius (138-161), who built and dedicated a temple to his wife Faustina, whose character was less appreciated by others than by her husband. On his death the senate added the name of Antoninus to that of Faustina in the dedication (Plan iii. 2). The ten cipollino monolith columns on the lofty flight of steps and the elaborate frieze of griffins and candelabra remind us that we have reached the time when the world was pouring its treasures into its capital. The columns are from the island of Eubœa and the frieze is a copy from the temple of Apollo in Delos. Antoninus Pius was followed by Marcus Aurelius (161-180), who, in spite of his reputation for wisdom, brought the happy period to an end by selecting as his successor his worthless son, Commodus (180-193). A fire in the reign of Commodus gave great building opportunities to Septimius Severus, who followed three puppet emperors elected in the one year 193, one of whom, Didius Julianus, actually bought his throne by auction in the prætorian camp. Septimius Severus (193-212) was born in Africa and probably had African blood in his veins. He owed his position to his military

capacity, which he exercised in the Far East during the early part of his reign. He added Mesopotamia to the Roman dominion and was awarded a commemorative arch. Between the Vulcanal and the senate house, on the site of the old Comitium, stands the triple-arched monument with its Oriental figures, sieges and victories. It is badly weather-worn and the æsthetic effect is more general than particular. The inscription was tampered with by his son and successor, Caracalla, who deleted the name of his murdered brother, Geta, and covered the space with the words 'optimis fortissimisque principibus' as applied to his father and himself.

Between Caracalla (212-217) and Maxentius (306-312), the next imperial contributor to the Forum, there were thirty-four wearers of the imperial purple. Most of their names are unknown to those who have not made a special study of Roman history, and only two or three of them left memorials in the city. The empire declined from the time of Septimius Severus, and in the days of Maxentius Rome had ceased for a time to be the capital. Diocletian had evolved a scheme of joint emperors and joint Cæsars in four cities. In course of time the first pair of emperors resigned in favour of the Cæsars, but the soldiers declined to accept the arrangement. A number of nominations were made and Constantine fought his way to the throne. Before him, however, Maxentius, the son of Diocletian's colleague, Maximian, ruled in Rome for six years. During that time he built the small round temple in memory of the son he had named after the founder of the city. The Templum Divi Romuli (Plan iii. 33) stands in front of the Templum Urbis Sacræ and is now combined with it in the church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian. The circular form is said to be due to want of space, but it is noticeable that Greek influence in architecture had been declining for some time. Hadrian had set the example in the Pantheon, in the temple of Venus and Rome, and in his own tomb,

Arch of
Septimius
Severus.

Temple
of young
Romulus,
300 A.D.

and the Roman architects seemed to be adopting the arcuated style which is theirs by every right. It is the style of the arch, not that of the beam, which is associated with the name of Rome throughout the world. The porphyry columns on either side of the mutilated bronze doors and the richly ornamented architrave imply that the temple was not always as bare as we now see it.

Constantine (312-337), who had been elected Cæsar on the death of his father at York, had been waiting at Arles with his enthusiastic Gallic legions. The opportunity came and the issue was decided near the Milvian Bridge, two miles outside the Porta del Popolo. Constantius, his father, had been decidedly tolerant to the British Christians during the Diocletian persecution, and his mother Helena was a zealous Christian. He knew the strength and quality of the Christians in the West and had seen that persecution only added to their numbers. This battle of the Milvian Bridge was in his mind the test between Christianity and paganism, and victory decided his course. The battle was fought in October 312, and in 313 the edict of toleration was promulgated, to be followed later by the acceptance of Christianity as the religion of the empire.

Constantine found a basilica on a very large scale in course of erection in the eastern corner of the Forum. This he finished, with some alteration of plan, and bestowed on it his own name, the Basilica Constantina (Plan iii. 34). It was of Roman design in most of its details. A vast central hall covered with a quadripartite vault in three bays terminated in an apse. The lateral pressure of this enormous weight was sustained by the transverse division of the aisles, each division being triple-vaulted at right angles to the nave. The vaults of nave and aisles were carried by eight large composite piers, which were relieved ornamentally by monolith columns of white marble, one of which may be seen in front of Sta Maria Maggiore, and above the aisles were ingenious arched supports anticipating the Gothic flying buttresses.

Basilica of
Constantine.

The original plan provided an apse at the west end of the nave, which was carried out; but Constantine changed the front of the building from east to south and made another apse in the central division of the opposite aisle. The fragments of roof brought down by an earthquake show how much Roman architects relied on the strength of their cement. The pozzolana or volcanic sand mixed with lime enabled them to make a rubble concrete that was stronger than stone.

It is important to notice that the imperial architects were engaged on the Basilica Constantina at the time they were called upon to design the first Christian churches, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John's Lateran, &c., and that they did not follow the new architecture of the Constantine basilica. This is a strong argument in favour of the contention that the churches were in accordance with plans developed from the atrium of domestic houses and consequently more like the earlier basilicas. The name basilica was given to them as buildings of a public hall type without reference to any definite architectural style or plan.

There are still two monuments to be noticed in the Forum. In the south-west angle of the Tabularium, behind the temple of Vespasian, is a portico of cipollino columns which contained once the images of Rome's twelve principal gods (Plan iii. 35). It was an old foundation, but the present building dates from the pagan reaction under Julian the Apostate, the nephew of Constantine. It was built in 367 A.D. by Prætextatus, the prefect of Rome, who, like many of the Roman senators, clung to the old faith and wished to see it restored.

The last monument is the least worthy of all but not the least conspicuous. A lofty, fluted marble column with Corinthian capital (Plan iii. 36) rises in solitary grandeur on pedestal and steps at the west corner of the commercial forum. The inscription states that it was erected by the exarch Smaragdus in 602 A.D. to the emperor Phocas.

Portico
of the
Dei Consentes,
367 A.D.

Column
of Phocas,
602 A.D.

THE CAPITOL AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD 43

This unworthy monarch, who somehow obtained a flattering letter from Pope Gregory the Great, gained the throne by murdering his predecessor Maurice and his five sons. It was through him that the Pantheon was converted into a Christian church in 609 A.D.

The Forum is by far the most important centre of classical monuments, and needs more than ever a careful discrimination of intervals and dates. The whole story of ancient Rome is illustrated in it, from the necropolis and lapis niger of prehistoric days to this monument of the seventh century A.D., covering a period of something like seventeen hundred years.

THE CAPITOL AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

Fragment of Servian wall	c. 600 B.C.	Temple of Mater Matuta	c. 600 B.C.
Tarpeian Rock		Forum Boarium	
Theatre of Marcellus	13 B.C.	Arch of the Money-changers	204 A.D.
Portico of Octavia	13 B.C.	Janus Quadrifrons	350 A.D.
The Island		Cloaca Maxima	c. 650 B.C.
Temple of Fortuna Virilis	c. 600 B.C.	Mamertine Prison	c. 650 B.C.

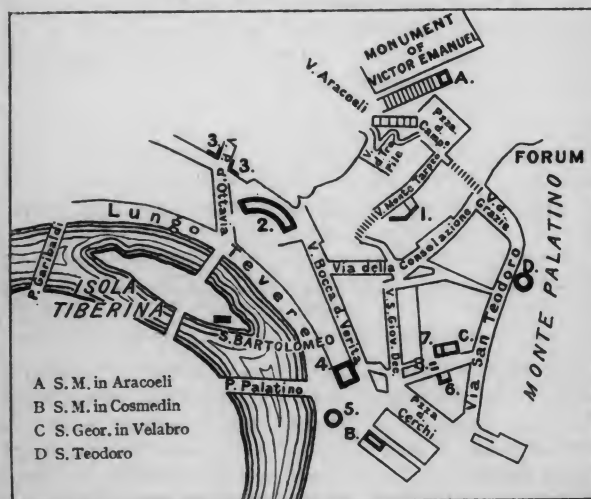
THE Capitol (Plan i.) was the civic centre of medieval Rome and consequently its classic monuments almost entirely disappeared through the builders' needs. If we approach it from the city side by the winding carriage road we shall find about half-way up the hill a fragment of the Servian wall inclosed within a protecting gate. It does not show the construction very well but helps to fix its position. It proves that at this point the Capitoline hill was on the extreme edge of the ancient city inclosed by the Etruscan king. In one direction it ran to the river and in the other it left the hill near Victor Emanuel's monument and turned northwards to embrace the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline.

Following this upward road, the Via delle tre Pile (Plan iv.), we pass through a stone gateway to a piazza, from which an excellent idea may be obtained of

Fragment of
Servian wall,
c. 600 B.C.

the shape of the Capitoline hill—two summits and a saddle between. On the opposite summit, now occupied by the church of Ara Coeli (Plan iv. A), stood in the old days the citadel and the temple of Juno Moneta; on the summit we are on, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. To reach the site of this famous temple it will be necessary to pass through the Piazza del Campidoglio,

PLAN IV.—NEAR TO THE CAPITOL



- A S. M. in Araceli
B S. M. in Cosmedin
C S. Geor. in Velabro
D S. Teodoro

1. Monte Tarpeo
2. Teatro di Marcello
3. Portico d' Ottavia
4. T. d. Fortuna Virilis
5. T. d. Mater Matuta
6. Cloaca Massima
7. Arco d. Orefici
8. Arco Janus Quad.

and up the stairs to the right to the Palazzo Caffarelli which has been built on it. It is easily distinguished by the row of ilex trees in a walled garden. On the other side of the road, in the grounds of the German hospital, to which admission is allowed, is the Tarpeian Rock (Plan iv. 1) down which criminals were hurled in Rome's simple days.

The Tarpeian
Rock.

A flight of steps and a narrow street winding round the rock bring us to the Via della Consolazione, in which a turn to the right leads across the Piazza Montanara and through the Via del Teatro Marcello to the shabby remains of the building which gives the street its name (Plan iv. 2). It was begun by Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus in 13 B.C. in the name of his nephew Marcellus, who had just died. The emperor had no son and had adopted this nephew as his successor. The building was the second of the stone theatres erected in Rome and is an example of Romanised Greek architecture. The Doric column is used in the lowest part of the building to indicate strength, and in the storey above it the Ionic; probably here as in other buildings the idea was completed by a Corinthian upper storey. But the whole ruin is so repulsive in its modern setting that we hardly know which to wonder at most, the base uses to which Cæsar's clay has been put or the deplorable condition of the homes in the capital city of Italy more than forty years after its rejuvenation.

We are told that the streets of imperial Rome were covered with shady colonnades and occasional open porticos for rest and gossip, and that one of these (Plan iv. 3) was built by Augustus in this locality in the name of his sister Octavia, whose death, like that of her son Marcellus, had added another bitter load to his declining years. It requires an effort of the imagination to realise that this archway near the theatre of Marcellus represents this pleasant vision. Rome has evidently a surfeit of monuments.

The street leads from the Portico to the double bridge connecting the island with the two banks of the Tiber (Plan iv.). An inscription on the nearest of these bridges records its erection by Lucius Fabricius in 62 B.C., and engineers will be interested to notice that their professional brethren at that early date were fully alive to the advantages of an expanding foundation in a stream and of apertures in wind-swept masonry. On the island

Theatre of
Marcellus,
13 B.C.

Portico of
Octavia,
13 B.C.

stood in classic days a temple of Æsculapius, another Greek god introduced into Rome through the Sibylline books. This was the ancient form of hospital, which was continued by Christian Rome under the patronage of St. Bartholomew. Whether the prow-shaped ends of the island were intended to suggest the advantages of a floating hospital I am not able to say, but there can hardly be another site in the world that has been used for so many continuous centuries for this humane purpose. Those who know the history of St. Bartholomew's hospital in London will remember that Rahere, its founder, made a pilgrimage to Rome in consequence of the terrible death of his friend, the son and heir of Henry I, in the *White Ship*; and that it was during an illness in Rome that he made a vow to build a monastery in London. The result of this vow was the monastery of St. Bartholomew, which is to-day represented by the hospital of the same name. It would be interesting to know whether Rahere was nursed during his sickness in the hospital of St. Bartholomew on the Tiber.

The road along the new embankment leads to the point on the river which in early days was the quay for loading and unloading the Mediterranean boats, and now the piazza of the Bocca della Verità. Behind it in imperial days was the Forum Boarium or cattle market,

Temple of
Fortuna
Virilis.

On the left is a rectangular building with walled-up Ionic columns. It is the remains of a temple founded in the days of the Etruscan kings and reconstructed in 214 B.C. It was dedicated to Fortuna Virilis and was converted into a Christian church in the ninth century, when the columns were filled in (Plan iv. 4). The Greek work is better than usual, less Romanised, the Ionic columns and cornice being more as the Greeks themselves would have made them.

The graceful circular building in the piazza with its colonnade of Corinthian columns was the temple of Mater Matuta (the Mother of Dawn), another Etruscan foundation (Plan iv. 5). It has necessarily undergone

rebuildings and restorations, but has happily retained, like the temple of Vesta, the form of the primitive hut.

The present columns are of the time of Augustus and, like its neighbour, it was converted to Christian use in the ninth century. It seems appropriate that the first and last buildings in Rome seen by those who faced the perils of the sea should have been the temples of Fortuna Virilis and of Mater Matuta.

The street called the Via dei Cerchi leads from the piazza to the monument known as the Janus Quadrifrons (Plan iv. 8). It is a four-faced arch with two storeys of niches and was built in the fourth century A.D. for the convenience of those attending the market, who found shelter under its arches and within its rooms for the transaction of business. It had nothing to do with Janus beyond its double face, and marks the architectural decline of the period.

Against the church of St. George on the opposite side and badly treated by the builders of the tower is a better piece of work erected by the merchants of the market in 204 A.D. in honour of Septimius Severus (Plan iv. 7). The relief representing the emperor and his wife Julia Domna with their two sons, Caracalla and Geta, suggests by the display of sacrificial implements that it was connected in some way with the animals provided by the market for the sacrifices; but it is popularly known as the arch of the silversmiths or money-changers. It will be noticed that Caracalla caused his brother Geta's name to be deleted on this as on all other inscriptions.

A narrow lane spanned by four low brick arches opposite this church leads to a section of the Cloaca

Maxima (Plan iv. 6) which has been opened and preserved for show purposes. Allusion has been already made to the draining of the Forum by the Etruscans. It was an engineering feat of no small difficulty and was performed on a scale that still excites the admiration of the world. The drain

Temple of
Mater
Matuta.

Janus
Quadrifrons,
350 A.D.

Arch of
the money-
changers,
204 A.D.

Cloaca
Maxima,
c. 650 B.C.

was relieved of some of its functions a few years ago when the new embankment was made, but until then it had been in full work for upwards of twenty-five centuries. An even more important feature of the Cloaca Maxima is that it introduced the use of the arch to the practical Roman mind. It seems a simple matter to us, but if we reflect that the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, and even Greeks found no use for it we shall be inclined to give more credit to the Romans. They received the principle from the Etruscans, but it was their practical common sense that converted it into a necessity of civilisation. It would be difficult to find a better symbol of Rome's influence on civilisation than the arch. It is not possible to say how much or if any of the work we see is Etruscan. The inner arch is made of large blocks put together without mortar and is evidently of very early date.

The Via S. Teodoro at the top of the road leads to the Forum, where we may visit another primitive monument in the piazza near the arch of Septimius Severus, the

Mamertine prison (Plan v. i). It is built of large blocks without mortar which overlap in the upper part so as to form a dome-shaped roof, and is not unlike many Etruscan tombs or the building known as the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ. What was its original purpose is not known, but in historic times it was notorious as Rome's state prison. It was the scene of many cruel executions which illustrate the weak side of Rome's moral code. No doubt parallel cases can be quoted against our own civilisation, but in their case it was the code and in ours the human agent which is most to be blamed. At their best they were callous towards those whom they did not respect and they had no means of learning otherwise. Jugurtha, the king of Numidia, after gracing or disgracing the triumphal procession of Marius, was thrown in cold blood into this infamous pit. Vercingetorix, the brave Gallic opponent of Julius Cæsar, was in like manner exhibited to the populace and ruthlessly executed. The

Mamertine
prison.

Catilinian conspirators, condemned by the eloquence of Cicero, were pitilessly thrown into the Mamertine dungeon from which they could never emerge. Medieval tradition associated the prison with St. Peter and St. Paul, and discovered a dint made by the head of St. Peter under the cruel usage of the gaoler and a spring of water in which the apostle baptised the penitent tyrant. The prison was converted into a shrine and made a pilgrimage centre. We can easily understand the prevalence of these stories in the dark ages, but that they should be still repeated is less comprehensible. The two apostles were probably martyred in Rome, and it is possible that before execution they were confined in the state prison.

THE IMPERIAL FORA

Forum of Julius Cæsar	c. 50 B.C.	Forum of Nerva	96-98 A.D.
" " Augustus	28 B.C.-14 A.D.	" " Trajan	98-117 A.D.
" " Vespasian	69-79 A.D.		

WHILE Julius Cæsar was adding Gaul to the empire he was making preparations for a scheme which would improve Rome and at the same time, if the truth must be told, glorify himself. He instructed his friend Cicero to buy a rectangular plot of land at the back of the senate house, which was covered with what we call flats and the Romans called *insulæ*—blocks of buildings occupied by many families. He had to pay an enormous sum for the site, but neither money nor anything else was allowed to thwart Cæsar. He surrounded the site with a wall, colonnades, portico and shops, and in the middle built a temple. It is very difficult for us to understand the religious ideas of a man like Cæsar. He had been brought up to believe in many gods and in the descent of Romulus from the god of war.

The Imperial
Fora.

Forum of
Julius Cæsar,
c. 50 B.C.

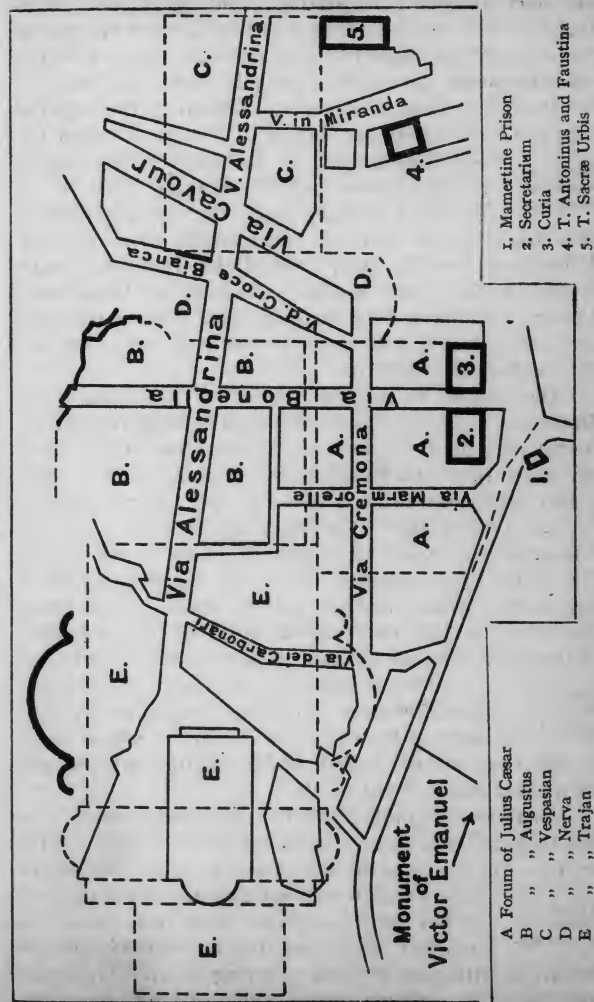
He had been persuaded that his own family could trace its pedigree from Æneas of Troy who sprang from Venus. The temple which he built on his new property was dedicated to his ancestress, whom he styled Venus Genetrix. The senate, therefore, which decreed a temple to Cæsar himself after his death, did not go far beyond his own ideas. Apart from the religious question Cæsar's addition to the ancient Forum was a very valuable one and, moreover, instigated further improvements of a similar kind, which gave Rome a new area of public buildings and open spaces.

Cæsar's plot was called the Forum Julii (Plan v. A) and extended beyond the Via Cremona. The space occupied is divided into three fairly equal parts by the Via Bonella and the Via Marmorelle, as will be seen by reference to the plan. Unfortunately all traces of buildings have disappeared.

His example was followed by his great-nephew and successor Augustus, who bought a similar plot at the back of the Forum Julii, which he also surrounded with a wall, colonnades, and shops, and at the farther end included a temple (Plan v. B). This was dedicated to Mars Ultor, in acknowledgment of the help he had received at Philippi, where he avenged his uncle's assassination. By the side of the image of Mars he placed that of Venus, the ancestress of his family. A reference to Plan iv. will best explain the position of the Forum of Augustus, which is crossed by the Via Alessandrina and the Via Bonella. But we are not left altogether to our imagination in this case. At the end of the Via Bonella is a large block of the wall of Augustus with its niches for statues and pierced by an arch for the road. On one side of the modern street the old level has been exposed by excavation, by which we can understand the change made in the whole of this locality, including the Forum itself, by the accumulations of ages. On the opposite side are the remains of the temple of Mars Ultor, three fluted Corinthian columns, a fragment of coffered ceiling with key pattern and egg

Forum of
Augustus,
28 B.C.—14 A.D.

PLAN V.—IMPERIAL FORA



and dart ornaments, suggesting a building of great architectural merit. It is said that the irregularity of the wall on the city side was caused by a recalcitrant property owner, who compelled the emperor to build round his house.

To find the site of the next addition to the imperial fora—that of Vespasian (Plan v. C)—we must follow the

Forum of Vespasian, 69–79 A.D. Via Alessandrina to the back of the church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian (Plan iv. 5).

We have already made the acquaintance of this church in the form of two temples, those of *Sacræ Urbis* and *Divi Romuli*; behind the *Templum Sacræ Urbis* we saw some mosaic pavement of Vespasian's Forum. We have to be satisfied again with an imaginative effort, but it will be worth while to trace the site by the help of the plan.

The fourth forum was added by Vespasian's son Domitian, who used a piece of ground between his father's forum and those of the two Cæsars. He pulled down for the purpose the buildings on either side of the street called *Argiletum* and made an open forum with a central thoroughfare. On either side he built a covered colonnade, of which an important block is left in the *Via della Croce Bianca*. It is an excellent piece of decorative work, though rather florid, representing *Minerva* presiding over various kinds of female labour. A forum surrounded by architecture of this quality was

Forum of Nerva, 96–98 A.D. a handsome gift to the city. Domitian's death, however, threw the completion into the hands of his successor Nerva, by whose name it has been always called owing to the unpopularity of its real donor (Plan v. D).

There is still another and the most magnificent of all the imperial fora to be considered, that of Trajan (Plan v. E). Its site was on the other side of that of the Cæsars and in area equalled the two combined.

Forum of Trajan, 98–117 A.D. Trajan had imported from Damascus an architect of repute named Apollodorus, to whom he entrusted the task of laying it out. The architect began by carting away a ridge of land connecting

the Quirinal with the Capitol. Labour and expense were evidently not to be spared. He then built a semicircular structure against the hill, from which he had removed the soil, with shops at its base and colonnades on either side, this forming one boundary of the forum; the opposite side was made to correspond. The foundations of one of these hemicycles with some of the shops still remain, as indicated by the dark lines on the top of Plan v. The forum was entered by a triumphal arch where the dotted line crosses the *Via Alessandrina* on the plan, on either side of which were colonnades meeting those of the hemicycles at the corners. In front of the triumphal arch was a large open space occupying three-fourths of the site, and on the other quarter a basilica completely traversing the forum, with apses at each end harmonising with the circular recesses of the side walls. The piece of excavated ground now called Trajan's Forum is represented on the plan by a small rectangular figure crossing the central part of the basilica, to which the fragments of columns belonged. Beyond the basilica was the lofty sculptured column with a bronze statue of Trajan on it; and beneath the pedestal was buried the golden urn containing the ashes of the emperor, whose military achievements in *Dacia* are chronicled in reliefs from the bottom to the top of the column. Trajan died in *Cilicia* before the column was finished, and his statue was carried away by some of Rome's invaders who could not resist a piece of good metal. On either side of the column were libraries for Greek and Latin manuscripts. Beyond the column again was a further colonnaded space, in which Hadrian erected a temple for the founder of the Forum, one of Rome's greatest and most honoured emperors.

The reliefs on the columns are a study in themselves, giving more reliable information on Roman and barbarian costumes, methods of warfare, arms and armour, and everything connected with a military campaign of the period, than all the books together.

They can be best examined by means of engravings or photographs.

It will be of interest to those who have visited medieval buildings in the north to know that this column is provided with a newel staircase and that our northern architects were anticipated in this as in so much else by their brethren in ancient Rome. Trajan's column has certainly received the sincerest form of flattery by being copied. Napoleon and Nelson and many other of the world's heroes look down on the lands for which they fought from a position inspired by this memorial.

THE CAMPUS MARTIUS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

Pompey's theatre	60 B.C.	Temple of Neptune	120 A.D.
Mausoleum of Augustus	28 B.C.	Mausoleum of Hadrian	136 A.D.
Pantheon	27 B.C.	Column of Marcus Aurelius	
Stadium of Domitian	90 A.D.		180 A.D.

THE principal street of modern Rome is the Corso, the old Flaminian Way to the north. It was made by

Caius Flaminius in 220 B.C. from a gate in the Servian wall near Victor Emanuel's

The Campus Martius. new monument through the open country which lay between the Capitol, Quirinal and river. The space between the Via Flaminia and river had long been called the Campus Martius, because in primitive days the kings had grown corn there for the people under the protection of Mars, the god of vegetation (p. 27). This became the building land of ambitious citizens in the last days of the Republic. Flaminius himself built the circus called by his name on the present Via del Plebiscito, and Pompey followed a little farther

Pompey's theatre, c. 60 B.C.

on with his great block of stone buildings surrounded by a portico of a hundred columns which is known to history as Pompey's theatre. Here on the ides of March, 44 B.C., great Cæsar fell before

the dagger of the assassin at the foot of Pompey's statue. Between the church of S. Andrea delle Valle and the Campo di Fiore the semicircular form of a block of modern houses retains the outline of the theatre.

Augustus, soon after he became emperor, built a mausoleum for himself and his family between the Flaminian Way and the river. It has passed through strange vicissitudes—a tomb, a fortress, a circus, and now a concert room. It is approached through the gateway of 57 Via dei Pontifici, near the Piazza del Popolo end of the Corso, where the opus reticulatum and stonework of the round structure stripped of its marbles can be seen; from a courtyard of the Via Ripetta the form and size of this strangely neglected imperial monument can be better realised. On this circular structure, containing chambers for the funeral urns, was a lofty mound planted with cypresses and, towering above all, a colossal statue of the emperor. On either side of the entrance were the two obelisks which are now near the Quirinal palace and in the piazza of Sta Maria Maggiore. Unhappily the emperor needed his mausoleum only too soon for members of his family. The ashes of his nephew Marcellus, whom he regarded as his successor, were placed in it as soon as it was finished; his friend and minister Agrippa followed in 14 B.C.; his sister Octavia in 13 B.C.; and then two more possible successors, his nephews Caius and Lucius. Many other members of Cæsar's family followed Augustus himself, and all the emperors except Caligula and Nero, to the time of and including Nerva, were buried in this mausoleum. Six of its urns are in the Vatican museum, that of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and the imperial ashes are—where?

Augustus compiled before his death a summary of statistical and other information respecting the empire during his reign for inscription on bronze pillars before the entrance of his mausoleum. It records the honours he received, the money he spent on public works, the

number of his subjects and of his soldiers, the buildings he erected or restored, &c. It is known as the will of Augustus and has been recovered through a copy made for a temple built to the emperor's memory at Ancyra in Galatia, which was found a few years since (p. 269).

Hadrian, who knew his empire from end to end, appears to have been impressed by the durability and strength of the Egyptian tombs. These qualities he reproduced in his own mausoleum on the north bank of the Tiber, but retained the Roman circular form. Had he built a pyramid his ashes might still have been protected by its masonry, but the round, massive mole near the river was too great a temptation to the rulers of Rome in days of trouble. When cold steel and whistling arrows are in evidence men give little heed to dead emperors, and the building so cunningly devised for the preservation of human ashes was found equally effective and more useful for the protection of human lives. Peperino blocks and brickwork, faced in and out with Parian marble, on a square base a hundred yards every way, and towering seventy yards upwards in circular form, enshrined the imperial sarcophagus. Solid throughout with the exception of two central chambers, one above the other, for himself and his successors, the structure has defied the assaults of nature and man for nearly eighteen centuries. Its statues and decorations, marble facings and bronze ornaments, have long disappeared, but the building in its massive strength stands without a crack, though it has been the centre and object of more fighting and bloodshed than any fortress on the face of the earth. No royal tomb has held three more worthy monarchs than Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, three of the short series of Rome's good emperors; and no royal father was ever more unfortunate in his son than Marcus Aurelius in Commodus, the last, except Septimius Severus, whose ashes were placed in this sepulchre. The core of the mausoleum is easily distinguished from the machicolations and other medieval

Mausoleum
of Hadrian,
136 A.D.

additions, but the living castle emphatically flaunts its superiority over the dead tomb.

Hadrian's Ælian bridge, which is now known by the name of the castle, leads by the Via in Panico to the

Piazza Navona, which was built over and retains the form of the stadium of Domitian.

By the Piazza Madama on the opposite side a few minutes' walk will bring us to the Pantheon, the most remarkable of Rome's many remarkable buildings. We

have before us a formidable travertine portico resting on monolith granite columns in front of a circular building of brick. In the pediment

the name of Agrippa is plainly inscribed as its builder. Before the year 1892 the architectural experts, with a few hesitating dissentients, endeavoured to explain away Agrippa's inconsistencies of design. The portico and the rotunda were clearly two conceptions clumsily united, but inscription and tradition attributed them to one author. A French student solved the difficulty by the simple process of revealing Hadrian's stamp on the bricks of the rotunda; at the same time he proved that the dome was not of concrete, as had been supposed, but of brick. The skill of the architect was, therefore, no longer depreciated by the wonderful tenacity of Roman cement, but was credited with the construction of the first dome in Western Europe built of the very simplest materials. The dome, like the barrel vault, is an Oriental design which had been adopted in some of the Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor and Egypt. Trajan and Hadrian had doubtless seen them in their wide travels, and, what is more to the purpose, Apollodorus, the architect of Damascus, whom Trajan had brought to Rome to execute his building schemes, had probably acquired the art of their construction. There is no evidence that Apollodorus designed the Pantheon, but the architect, whoever he may have been, was of his calibre. The building is unique in architectural merit and æsthetic effect. It possesses the combination of simplicity and dignity which characterises the spontaneous

Stadium of
Domitian,
90 A.D.

The
Pantheon,
27 B.C.

expression of a new idea. No one can enter the Pantheon without feeling that he is in the presence of something he has not seen before. He looks round and finds nothing to arrest his eye; it is all on one plane of equality and it is all wonderful. If he succeeds in analysing the cause he will probably find that equality is at the bottom of it. The ground plan is circular and presents no obstructions; the walls are circular, the ceiling is circular, and the light is admitted by a circular opening. The diameter of the floor is exactly equal to the height from floor to summit; the height from floor to cornice is equal to that from cornice to apex. The walls are covered with choice marbles of delicate colours and unobtrusive patterns; the lower wall is ingeniously divided into alternate niches and plain surfaces; every alternate niche is rectangular or circular, and its overhanging wall is supported by two fluted marble columns between two similar pilasters. The dome has no suspicion of shabbiness, though its coffered panels have been robbed of their metal decorations and colour, and the light admitted solely through the central eye is equally diffused and sufficiently bright in every part of the building. The original purpose of the Pantheon is not known, but it was not for worship only, as Hadrian administered justice within its tribune. In the year 609 A.D. the Pantheon was turned into a church and under its floor were deposited the bones of thousands of Christians from the catacombs. The tribune received the high altar, and the niches and intervening spaces were furnished with supernumerary altars. These additions, renewed at various times, and the eighteenth-century windows, must be deleted from our survey and their places filled in imagination with Roman statuary. Michael Angelo esteemed it so highly that he proposed to build St. Peter's in the form of a Greek cross with the Pantheon above it. Raphael, in accordance with his own request, was laid to rest within its walls. Modern Italy, which is not prone to value its antique monuments too highly, has

made it the mausoleum of its kings. However much we might wish to see the building as Hadrian left it, we must acknowledge that we owe its admirable preservation to its later changes.

Let us now look at it from without. Hadrian certainly injured the effect of his design by his loyalty to the original founder. Agrippa's portico was rebuilt in its first form though utterly out of harmony with the new design. The portico in no way suggests the plan of the building behind it nor does it even fit it. The magnificent grey granite monoliths were worthy of a better purpose; nor does the rotunda appeal to the æsthetic sense in its external as in its internal effect. Brunelleschi's work at Florence and Michael Angelo's in Rome have taught us how a dome may be treated externally. Apollodorus, if it was he, had not solved the problem of counteracting outward thrust without sacrificing appearance. He had to build up his outside wall until it smothered his dome for structural reasons. The Renaissance architects admired and learnt from the Pantheon, but it was by their personal genius that they were able to show the world a dome that was equally beautiful within and without. At the same time the Pantheon is the mother of all the domes of western Christendom, whether they be in Florence or Rome or London.

The Via dei Pastini, opposite the Pantheon, leads to the remains of the temple of Neptune, which was converted into a palace and is now used as the bourse. Eleven lofty columns are all that are left of a building erected by Agrippa to commemorate the naval victory at Actium in 31 B.C. and rebuilt by Hadrian. It was dedicated to Neptune, god of the ocean which Rome now ruled as efficiently as she did the land. The temple stood in the middle of a walled enclosure, peristyled and niched and decorated after the manner of the imperial fora, and within its walls was administered the navy of Rome. From navy to bourse is no far cry, as we moderns know full

Temple of
Neptune,
120 A.D.

well. On the pedestals of the columns the different provinces of the empire were represented by reliefs, another idea which will find sympathy in modern minds. Five of these reliefs are to be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

A short street brings us into the Piazza Colonna, so called from the column of Marcus Aurelius, and so shaped because the column stood in this area with a temple dedicated to the deified emperor. Trajan had added Dacia, a province north of the Danube, to the Roman empire, and Marcus Aurelius had a good deal of trouble with some German tribes on the banks of the same river. He was successful in resisting their uprising and his victories are commemorated on the column, which is plainly inspired by that of Trajan. Neither he nor Trajan knew what a hornet's nest they were stirring up in those forests between the Danube, the Rhine, and the North Sea.

Column of
Marcus
Aurelius,
180 A.D.

THE COLOSSEUM AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

Colosseum	80 A.D.	Temple of Venus and Rome	135 A.D.
Meta Sudans	85 A.D.	Arch of Constantine	312 A.D.

THE imperial position was elective, not hereditary. The first five emperors from Augustus to Nero were members of the Cæsarean family, but from 68 A.D. to the time of Constantine at the beginning of the fourth century an emperor was only occasionally followed by his son. Vespasian, who was elected within twelve months of Nero's death, attempted to establish a dynasty and succeeded as far as his two sons, Titus and Domitian, were concerned. He was a soldier of ability and had distinguished himself in Britain, but being of plebeian origin he wished to show the people that he cared more

for their interests than the Cæsars had done. With this object he pulled down the magnificent golden house which Nero had selfishly built on a square mile of the ground cleared by the fire, and on the site of the artificial lake built at his own cost the enormous amphitheatre known

in later times as the Colosseum. It was an oval stone building, a hundred and sixty feet high, with an internal area of two hundred by a hundred and seventy yards, absolutely uniform in design, with nothing to stop the eye as it ran round its three arcaded storeys surmounted by an upper wall. Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns supported an oval entablature between each tier of arches and formed, with statues in the upper arcades, the only surface relief. The building was undoubtedly impressive and typically Roman; it would be hard to imagine a design which could more fully emphasise the use of the arch, and that is Rome's chief contribution to architecture. Its thorough adaptation to its purpose, its orderliness and method, its uncompromising neglect of unnecessary ornament, and its downright solidity and stolidity are Roman to the core.

Internally a comparatively low podium ran round the arena, on which the emperor and court, state officials and privileged individuals, among whom were the Vestal Virgins, sat on separate marble chairs. The imperial entrance was through the middle of the north side, and the emperor's raised seat in front of the entrance. A wire guard protected the podium from the arena and a broad corridor separated it from the seats behind. There was another entrance on the opposite side for those privileged to sit on the podium other than the imperial entourage. On the second and third floors ascending tiers of seats were built, every one of which was numbered and allotted in graduated scales of social rank. The entrances, staircases, and corridors were so numerous and so carefully planned that the various grades of society never met. Higher up a colonnade ran round the whole building in which were wooden seats for the

The
Colosseum,
80 A.D.

lower classes of citizens, and on the top of the colonnade there was extensive standing room for 'the gods.' Still higher than this was a narrow gallery, on which sailors were stationed to manipulate the awning, when the sun was too hot or the rain came on suddenly. The arena was built over an elaborate arrangement of underground passages, tunnels, lifts, dens, and trap-doors, by means of which the attendants, gladiators, performers, and wild beasts were admitted to the area within the wire protection. There were even water pipes whereby the whole surface was at times flooded for aquatic contests.

Unfortunately the Colosseum is also typical of the Roman temper of Vespasian's time, of the attitude of the ruler towards the ruled, and of the character of both. This magnificent place of entertainment was not built to afford a reasonable relaxation in the lives of a hard-working, industrious population. It was nothing less than a huge bribe to a decadent people to prevent revolution, a new departure in the 'panem et circenses' policy adopted by the emperors to keep the people quiet. Worse still, it was a direct appeal to the lowest instincts of a rapidly degenerating populace and a most effective instrument in furthering the process of moral decadence, which brought about Rome's ultimate fall. They were invited to spend, not their leisure, but a hundred days at a time and frequently repeated, in watching men kill each other, human beings and savage animals in deadly combat, spectacles of blood-shedding and frantic savagery, which could not fail to blunt every decent sense. Christians, we know, were forced at times into the terrible arena; 'Christiani ad leones' was no imaginary cry, for tender girls and aged bishops alike were butchered to make a Roman holiday. But this was not a frequent occurrence nor is there any record of such wholesale atrocities as those which eternally disgraced the reign of Nero.

But the lust of blood is not easily quenched. The brutal spectacles went on through the reigns of 'the good emperors.' The building was struck by lightning in

217 A.D. and was reconstructed in 223. Some of the Christian emperors tried to modify the programme without effect, until a monk named Telemachus in 404 A.D. rushed between two human combatants and was stoned to death by the mob for his interference. Gladiatorial shows were stopped from that time, but the slaughter of wild beasts went on into the sixth century. An earthquake in the fourteenth century appears to have caused great damage, and the free use of its material for building purposes brought it to its present condition. In the middle of the eighteenth century it was dedicated to the Passion of Christ and since then it has been kept in repair. There is no other monument in Rome which is so suggestive of her imperial grandeur, or of her loss of moral fibre, or of her utter inability to satisfy the higher instincts of humanity.

Between the Colosseum and the Forum are the ruins of Hadrian's temple of Venus and Rome. The vestibule of Nero's golden house had occupied this piece of ground, and since Vespasian's time had remained vacant. Hadrian, who amongst his many accomplishments included practical architecture, fixed on it for a design of his own. To obtain a platform of imposing dimensions he was obliged to move the arch of Titus a few yards to the south and to build a substructure of which there are substantial remains. Round this open area he built a double colonnade of granite monoliths, some of which remain in fragmentary condition on the ground. In the middle of the platform he built the temple of Venus and Rome, arranged as two apsidal shrines back to back. An imperial architect could hardly fail to be original, though it is possible his design might be open to criticism. The story is told that Apollodorus was put to death because he ventured to find fault, but Hadrian's reputation as an excellent emperor would hardly have survived such an act. The cellæ have lost the rare marbles which covered their walls, and the columns which enclosed the building have disappeared, but the apse, which is

Temple of
Venus and
Rome,
135 A.D.

turned towards the Colosseum, shows an early use of the coffered half dome. The huge fragments of granite columns lying about suggest a question which is often in the mind of Roman visitors. Where did these gigantic blocks of stone and marble come from and by what methods did they find them and import them? There are porphyries and granites from Egypt in enormous blocks, cipollino from the island of Eubœa and porta santa from Chios; giallo antico from Numidia, pavonazzetto from Phrygia and white marbles from Pentelicus and Hymettus in Greece. The whole matter was arranged in the systematic manner which characterised everything Rome did. An official was appointed in Rome with agents in all parts of the empire, whose duty it was to report the existence of marble and other quarries and to take possession of all that were suitable in the name of the emperor. A superintendent was placed over every selected quarry with a staff of expert assistants and with power to employ all the labour he needed, slave or otherwise, and to him were sent those condemned to this form of labour by the law. A fleet of vessels especially designed and built for this purpose (p. 277) was kept continuously employed, and such freights as were not immediately required were deposited in what were called the marble quarries of Rome. The expense and labour must have been prodigious.

At the bottom of the road leading from the arch of Titus towards the Colosseum is the brick core of a fountain said to have been erected by Meta Sudans, 85 A.D. Domitian. The somewhat inelegant name implies that in shape or purpose it was a gaol as well as a fountain, but wherefore and whereof remains a mystery.

Below the Meta Sudans and on the road which leads between the Cœlian and Palatine hills to the Appian Way is the triumphal arch of Constantine, who Arch of Constantine, 312 A.D. set Christianity free and, by establishing his capital on the Bosphorus, made Rome the centre of the new religion. It commemorates his victory

over Maxentius near the Milvian bridge, a few miles north of Rome, in 311, whereby he became sole emperor. The arch is a curious architectural medley. Its general effect is good but in detail it is a remarkable mixture of incongruous material. It is built of brick and covered with marbles from other monuments. The giallo antico columns are graceful in form and workmanship but were made for a smaller structure; they are placed on high pedestals, and on the tops of their capitals are two blocks which enable them to support a handsome cornice from a building of a better period; on this and over the columns are four Dacian captives who sorrowfully wonder what they have to do with the battle of the Milvian bridge, seeing they had been taken prisoners by Trajan two hundred years earlier. Trajan himself, in the eight medallions, is hunting bears and lions and boars, and sacrificing to the gods, as if the anachronism was no concern of his; on the inner side of the principal arch he triumphantly enters Rome, as if the monument were his own, while his prætorian guard opposite slay the Dacians. On the attic on either side of the inscription are eight panel reliefs which seem familiar: their fellows are on the staircase of the Conservatori palace and belong to the time of Marcus Aurelius. Light is thrown upon the puzzle by the continuous, narrow frieze below the medallions and by the reliefs on the pedestals. The sculptors who executed this part of the decoration were plainly incompetent, and the difficulty was overcome by using material already decorated. It is to be hoped that monuments of the time of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were not destroyed for the purpose.

The monument forms the link between pagan and Christian Rome. Constantine had undoubted leanings towards Christianity and vowed that he would acknowledge it if he gained the victory over Maxentius. This was in 311 and a Christian council was held in the Lateran palace in 313. Constantine himself had to act warily owing to the number of pagans in the senate and

amongst his influential subjects, and it was not until 323 that he openly established it as the religion of the empire. It is said that he was not baptised until he was dying. In the inscription on this arch the vagueness of his early attitude is defined, as he is said to have triumphed over his opponent 'instinctu divinitatis'—under divine guidance.

BATHS OF CARACALLA, WALLS OF ROME, &c.

Servian wall	c. 600 B.C.	Baths of Caracalla	212 A.D.
Aurelian wall	270 A.D.	Baths of Diocletian	305 A.D.
Prætorian camp	14 A.D.		

THE Appian Way (Plan i.), the oldest of the roads made by the state and communicating with Naples, Brindisi and the South generally, left Rome by the Porta Capena in the Servian wall. This is at the meeting place of the Via S. Gregorio and the road through the Circus Maximus, a hundred yards or so in front of the palace of Septimius Severus on the Palatine. When Aurelian built the new city wall in the middle of the third century he found a vast population outside this gate and in the midst of it the fashionable baths of Caracalla. The ruins of these thermæ are now in a comparative desert, but we must look back to the time when ancient Rome had a population of a million in the first century and a million and a quarter at the end of the third.

Septimius Severus, the African soldier, had been a hard-working emperor and had associated with himself in the imperial work his two sons Caracalla and Geta. He seems to have hoped for a joint succession, anticipating the policy which was adopted at a later period, but Caracalla had other schemes. Having caused his brother Geta to be murdered he had deleted his name

from all the monuments on which his father had coupled it with his own. We have seen two instances in Rome, and amongst many others there is one as far north as Hexham near the wall which his father built across Britain. Caracalla was one of those unfortunate cases, which are not uncommon, of a worthless son of a worthy father. The memorial of his reign is this vast mass of

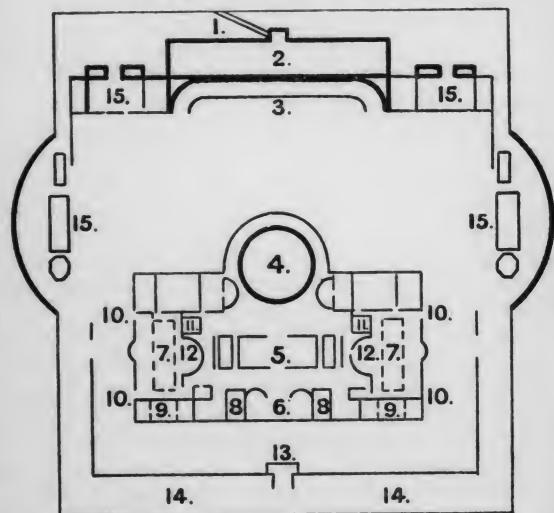
ruins which has made his name almost a household word and credited him with virtues which he did not possess. Rome was provided with plenty of water and with ample bath accommodation for purposes of cleanliness. Caracalla was not a sanitary reformer. His idea was to provide a luxurious lounge which would accommodate some two thousand people at a time and enable them to kill the best hours of the day in refreshing recreation. With an abundant supply of slaves to massage, oil, and scrape them, with a hot air perspiration room and a cold plunge and swimming tank and plenty of private baths and rooms for a leisurely toilet, the indolent citizens of Rome were invited to keep themselves in condition under delightful circumstances. There were gymnasia and palæstra in which they could take their exercise, and professionals to teach or entertain them as they chose. The city was crowded with people of this class, who preferred the work of the empire to be done by provincials; even the prætorian guard in the days of Septimius Severus was filled with barbarians. There were rocks ahead for which they were steering a straight course, and the baths of Caracalla helped them to get there more quickly. We read without surprise that Helio-gabalus, the curled youth from Syria who became emperor soon after Caracalla, patronised the thermæ and added to their conveniences.

But the spectacular interest of the ruins is quite another matter. The architects of Caracalla's day had profited by their world-wide opportunities and had reached a standard which would have done credit to any age. There was a flat, beamless ceiling in one of the

Baths of
Caracalla,
212 A.D.

large rooms of these baths which puzzled the experts, until they discovered some bent metal rods embedded in the concrete. In the art of vaulting and in creating supports for domes on octagonal bases they could have supplied information to their medieval followers which would have saved them years of laborious experiments.

PLAN VI.—BATHS OF CARACALLA



- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Aqueduct | 8. Dressing-rooms |
| 2. Reservoir and heating tanks | 9. Entrance halls |
| 3. Stadium | 10. Entrances |
| 4. Caldarium | 11. Private bathrooms |
| 5. Tepidarium | 12. Hall with seats |
| 6. Frigidarium | 13. Main entrance |
| 7. Colonnaded Palaestra | 14. Rows of shops or lodgings |
| | 15. Gymnasia |

By the help of Plan vi. the arrangement of the rooms will be easily followed, especially if it is understood that those on either side of the three central ones were duplicates. The entrance to the enclosure (13) corresponded to that used now, but it was in a shop-lined

colonnade three hundred and sixty yards long. The shops and buildings for the use of attendants, &c., were continued along the side walls as far as the semicircular projection. On the inner side of these projections were three buildings, an octagonal and an oblong room, the use of which has not been discovered, and between them a gymnasium (15). The fourth wall in like manner inclosed gymnasia (15) at each corner, and in the centre, occupying a third of its length, there were reservoirs, tanks, boilers, &c. (2), which were fed by an aqueduct (1) from without. The thermæ stood in the first half of the inclosure with its rotunda in the centre; the projecting half circle, therefore, extended into the second half, and the rest of the ground was laid out as a garden.

The turnstile, by which we pass into the ruins, is in one of the original entrances, and by turning at once to the right we go through a dressing-room (8) into the frigidarium (6). This was a cold-water swimming bath open to the air with the inner side formed of two semicircular recesses and an arch. This opened into a semicircular lounge with a fountain, of which the base remains, and beyond it into the tepidarium or warm air room (5) which occupied the centre of the establishment. Another lounge and fountain separated this from the caldarium or hot air room (4). This was circular and vaulted and had the properties of a Turkish bath. Its outline can be traced in the low remaining wall. From this point we can see the outer wall of the inclosure, a small cottage above a ruined wall marking the position of the aqueduct which fed the tanks and boilers. The ordinary bathing process appears to have been a preliminary shampoo, massage, &c., in the tepidarium, a prolonged perspiration in the caldarium and a swim in the frigidarium. The surrounding rooms no doubt supplied accommodation for the subsequent siesta. If we return to the tepidarium we can leave it at either end and find exactly the same arrangements whichever way we go. Passing through a rectangular chamber we enter a semicircular space (12) looking on to a large

oblong area (7) with a recess on the opposite side, which was colonnaded and divided. There are fragments of a mosaic floor against the walls and a piece of frieze on the wall, which will enable us to picture the decoration. The oblong space (7) was one of the *palæstra* in which fencing, boxing, wrestling, &c., took place. In the semicircle (12) and in a gallery above were seats for the spectators. In a room connected with the *palæstrum*, the pavement of the gladiators now in the Lateran museum was found. From the south corner of the block the shell of the octagon building in the projecting wall is visible.

We must picture these vast walls covered within and without with rich marbles, arches and colonnades supported by porphyry and granite columns, statues in niches and on pedestals, floors laid with mosaics and fountains everywhere, if we would form an idea of its magnificence. We may judge of the size of the columns by some capitals in the *tepidarium*, and of the stage which Roman art had reached by the combination of human figures with Corinthian and Ionic forms in their decoration. Works of art from many parts adorned the building, as amongst the treasures found in the ruins were the Farnese bull, the *Hercules*, *Flora*, &c., which are now in the Naples museum.

After visiting the baths of Caracalla we should take the first opportunity of seeing the church of *Sta Maria degli Angeli* near the railway station. This was formed from the *tepidarium* and adjoining rooms of the baths of Diocletian, which were built a century later than those we have just seen. The conversion was made under the superintendence of Michael Angelo in the sixteenth century, and much of the original decoration scheme was retained. The vaulted ceiling, marble panels, columns and cupolæ are of great assistance in an imaginary reconstruction of the ruins.

At the top of the *Via Nazionale* is a fine modern crescent divided in two parts by the road. At each end of the semicircle two straight streets are terminated

by circular, domed buildings now incorporated in the church of *S. Bernardo* on the east and a girls' school on the west. This crescent with its wings and circular terminals show the form of the southern inclosure wall of the baths of Diocletian. The main entrance was on the opposite side. The centre of the church was the *tepidarium* and the four ends of the cross were adjoining rooms. Some of the original granite columns remain, others are made of concrete; some of the wall covering is also a painted imitation, of which Diocletian's architects would have been ashamed. There is another classical building suggested by this church and that is the basilica of Constantine. It will be remembered that *Maxentius* built his apse at the end of the nave and that *Constantine* changed the entrance and made another apse. Exactly the same thing has been done here. Michael Angelo made the entrance at the east end and the sanctuary in the west. This was changed by an eighteenth-century architect who placed the entrance in the south and the sanctuary in the north. We shall have a further opportunity of visiting these baths in connexion with the museums formed in the buildings of the convent which occupied the greater part of them.

In the neighbourhood of the railway station there are portions of the old walls of Rome, the Servian and Aurelian, and the outline of the *prætorian camp*, which make an interesting morning's excursion. By the help of Plan i. and a modern city map we can obtain a good general idea of the lines of the two walls.

In the yard of the goods station behind the main terminus there is a considerable block of the old Servian wall, built about 600 B.C., and the only fortification of Rome for the first eight and a half centuries of its history. Of course it needed repair at times and sometimes portions must have been reconstructed, but much of the old Etruscan long-and-short work can still be seen. At one point of this block some *opus reticulatum* work is left from a

Baths of
Diocletian,
305 A.D.

The Servian
wall,
c. 600 B.C.

house built against the wall within a century of the Christian era.

This block is represented on Plan i. by a dotted line opposite a three-sided rectangular projection in the Aurelian wall. The projection is the outline of the Prætorian camp. If we follow the line of the Servian wall on the plan from this block we shall find that it reached its northernmost limit where the Pincian and Quirinal hills join. The turning-point is the present

ministry of finance which the Servian wall inclosed. Its course southwards is below the ridge of the Quirinal, fifty yards or so from the Via Venti Settembre and the Via del Quirinale. Below the palace it turned towards the Via Nazionale where another block remains in the middle of the road, and an arch connected with one of the gates may be seen in the palace opposite. The wall then skirted the Capitol with a gate near Victor Emanuel's monument past the Via dei tre Pile, where we have seen a fragment, to the Palatine and Aventine where it almost touches the river. After inclosing the south end of the Aventine it makes a further loop to the Porta Capena, the city gate of the Appian Way. Thence it skirts the Cælian, passing close to S. Gregorio, as we shall see when we visit the church, and, taking a northward course, it leaves the site of St. John's Lateran outside and incloses the promontories of the Esquiline and Viminal. The ruins of the temple of Minerva Medica mark its eastern boundary.

If we look at the plan again we shall see that the Rome of the Servian days, 600 B.C., occupied the central part of the Rome of the Aurelian days, 270 A.D. The Romans had only experienced the need of a wall twice in their long history. In 391 B.C. the city had been captured and plundered by the Cisalpine Gauls in spite of the wall. And on the second occasion, Hannibal's long siege in the second Punic War, the wall probably saved them from complete destruction. The Servian wall made the difference between Roma and Carthago

delenda est. The countless other wars had been away from home. In the third century A.D. the Teutonic barbarians began to give trouble beyond their own frontiers. They were encountered in Asia Minor, then in Greece, and finally in Italy. One of the emperors, Claudius II (268-70), was so successful against them that he took the name of Gothicus. Aurelian (270-275) gained a victory over them on the banks of the Metaurus in Central Italy, but he showed his appreciation of the danger by inclosing the city in a new wall. It is interesting to note the line he took and why he took it. If we

examine the southern line of the Aurelian wall on the plan we shall see that he found two large districts populated outside the old limits, one on either side of the Appian Way with the baths of Caracalla in the middle, and the other round Monte Testaccio. On one side of the latter he made the river his boundary until he had to cross it to inclose the Trastevere population in the bend. Beyond this again the river became the boundary as far as the present Piazza del Popolo where the Flaminian Way left the city. The Aurelian wall at this gate joined the Pincian. The Pincian gardens and Borghese park were divided as now by a steep wall separating two private properties. Aurelian appropriated these and followed similar divisions between the gardens of wealthy Romans until he reached the prætorian camp which he utilised as a part of his fortress. Thence he built in a south-easterly direction to inclose the Sessorian (Sta Croce) and Lateran (St. John's) palaces.

Rome in the days of Aurelian as in the days of Victor Emanuel was subject to an octroi. The expensive system of gathering revenue on the chickens and cabbages brought into the city from the country has, at least, the sanction of long experience. For this purpose it was necessary then as now to patrol the exits and to rely on natural and artificial boundaries. The river, the Pincian and other

Need of
new wall.

Line of the
Servian wall.

Aurelian wall,
270 A.D.

The octroi
of ancient
Rome.

garden walls, the prætorian camp, the enclosures of the Sessorian and Lateran palaces had long been used by the octroi authorities, who had put up artificial barriers elsewhere for their purpose. The octroi stones were found all along the Aurelian wall in a survey which was made a few years ago. Along these lines Aurelian placed his huge rampart of brick and rubble, with its inner passages and upper corridors, its gates and towers, a mighty undertaking covering a distance of twelve miles.

The prætorian camp was built by Tiberius who did not realise the danger of massing ten thousand soldiers just outside the city. Many an emperor owed his election and his death to this policy, and on one occasion the imperial position was sold by auction within these walls. Septimius Severus found it necessary to recruit the prætorian guard from the provinces and Constantine disbanded it.

The Porta Pia was the scene of Rome's latest invasion, as a few yards below it the national troops breached the Aurelian wall when they took possession of the city in 1870. The event is commemorated in the name of the Via Venti Settembre.

The
prætorian
camp,
14 A.D.

Via Venti
Settembre,
1870 A.D.

CHRISTIAN ROME

THE religion which Constantine established in the place of paganism had been growing up within its borders almost since the foundation of the empire itself. '*Imperante Augusto natus est Christus, imperante Tiberio crucifixus.*' It had spread by its own intrinsic merits from an outlying province, and owing to the excellent system of roads and continuous daily communication with all parts had rapidly

The intro-
duction of
Christianity.

established itself in every centre. For a long time it was regarded as a harmless superstition connected with the Jewish faith. The terrible persecution in the reign of Nero, in which Christians were subjected to horrible forms of death of a spectacular kind, had nothing to do with religion as far as the emperor was concerned.

They were chosen, probably under the instigation of hostile Jews, as scapegoats to stifle further inquiries into the origin of the great fire. It was in connexion with and subsequent to this persecution that St. Peter and St. Paul are traditionally said to have suffered martyrdom. The correspondence between Pliny, the governor of Bithynia, and the Emperor Trajan shows that the religion had spread extensively before definite action was taken by the state. There were individual martyrdoms from the beginning, and those who embraced the faith knew that they risked property, livelihood, and life itself. It offered no worldly advantages, but great personal dangers and continuous sufferings. Justin Martyr, who died for the faith in Rome in 163 A.D., describes Christians as 'hated and reviled by the whole human race.' When the authorities began

to be alarmed by the serious spread of the movement the dangers increased. Prominent officials were brought to trial and put to death, and throughout the third century systematic efforts were made to stamp it out. Large numbers perished all over the empire in the reigns of Decius (249-52), Valerian (253-61) and Diocletian (284-305), but opposition produced zeal and a few years later the Christians were in a majority.

The moral conquest of Rome is unique in the history of the world. The imperial race, with a magnificent heritage and without a rival, gradually lost its position through the degeneration of its citizens; while at the same time an increasing number of its subjects in the face of legal opposition and persecution, of personal suffering, danger, and loss of

Persecution
in Nero's
reign not on
account
of religion.

State
persecutions.

The
victory of
Christianity.

life, embraced a religion based on the highest type of morality the world has ever known. For two hundred and fifty years, eight generations of men, this abnormal upward struggle was maintained, until with every earthly advantage on the side of the loser the better cause won. The triumph of Christianity over paganism at this critical period ensured the success and permanence of the civilisation which was to follow. Rome had laid a magnificent foundation in Western Europe, but without this vitalising element it must have been destroyed by the barbarian inrush. As it was, the contest between these vigorous northern nations and the higher principles with which they came into contact lasted for centuries, and no small share of the ultimate result was due to the early Christians. The Roman world was fortunately Christianised before the barbarians came, and eventually a new and permanent civilisation, strong in physique and possessing high moral and spiritual ideals, was evolved.

THE CATACOMBS

And as the story is unique so is its memorial. There are no triumphal arches or columns or even churches to commemorate it, but there are graves. Outside the walls of Rome, as the law required, are the cemeteries of the early Christians. On the walls of their burial-places can still be seen the rude symbols of the creed for which they risked and in many cases lost their lives, the expressions of faith and joy and hope which animated them, the representations of scenes from the Bible which upheld them, the indications of the Divine source whence their courage was derived. The Christians themselves called their burial-grounds cemeteries—that is, sleeping places; a mere accident gave them the name of catacombs. The cemetery of St. Sebastian Cause of the name happening to be near some conspicuous, pagan tombs, was described in an official notice as ‘ad catacumbas’—near the tombs; the word

passed in popular speech to the cemetery itself and thence to all the cemeteries. The remarkable form of the burial-grounds, that of narrow corridors and of the form. in many layers, was due to the volcanic soil round Rome. This is of three consistencies, the hardest of which is used for building, the softest for mixing with cement, and the medium, being of small commercial value, for burials. The Romans, as a rule, burnt their dead and deposited the ashes in columbaria cut out of this medium tufa, but the wealthier classes erected tombs on their own plots for burials or urns. The Christians from the first adopted burial as most in accordance with their belief in the resurrection of the body and after the custom of the Jews, who were the first converts. Those who had the means purchased the ground in their own names and placed it at the disposal of the community, but at a later date the cemetery became the property of the Church. If we bear in mind the distance which the bodies had to be carried, the strictness of the Roman law on the subject of burial and burial-places, the narrowness of the corridors and the small area of the occasional chambers, we shall see that the catacombs can never have been hidden or used as hiding-places on an extensive scale or for purposes of secret worship. After the triumph of Christianity arrangements were made for pilgrimage services over the graves of the martyrs, which were made more accessible and decorated for the purpose. These continued in spite of barbarian invasions from the fourth to the seventh centuries, when the superstitious craving for relics led to an unholy traffic in the bones of the dead. The authorities consequently removed many of the bodies to the city churches and closed the cemeteries. These in course of time became overgrown with vegetation and passed out of sight and out of mind. In 1578 one of them was rediscovered by accident and since then several have been reopened and investigated.

Catacombs
not hidden.

Two of the catacombs, those of St. Callixtus on the Appian Way and of Domatilla on a neighbouring road, can be conveniently visited on the same morning. The former was the burial-place of the popes during the last century of the days of persecution. During the earlier period they had been buried in the cemetery on the Vatican hill by the side of the traditional grave of St. Peter, over which the great basilica now stands. As this could not be extended, the cemetery on the Appian Way was made over to the Church and placed under the supervision of the deacon Callixtus, who was afterwards elected to the papacy (218-22). The modesty of the inscriptions on the papal tombs, the simple names followed by the words bishop and martyr, strikes the prevailing note of the catacombs. The word martyr, however, was added at a later date owing to the belief that all had died for the faith, an error in fact but not in spirit, for most of the early Christians bore witness to the faith in life and death. Pope Sixtus II (257-8), was martyred in the cemetery itself, as an inscription in simple lettering states. These Latin verses, recording the acts of each martyr and carved in clear characters for a rude age, were the work of Pope Damasus (366-84), who organised the pilgrim services in the second half of the fourth century. The latest of the papal tombs is that of Melchiades (311-14), who survived the days of persecution and is represented on his sarcophagus as a shepherd peacefully sitting under a palm tree in the midst of his sheep. Here, too, is the tomb-chamber of St. Cecilia, whose body was transferred in the tenth century to the church of her name in Trastevere. It is sadly marred by a copy of Maderna's morbid statue, which is said to represent the body as seen when her grave was opened in the seventeenth century. The decoration of the papal and martyr chambers belong mainly to the pilgrim days, but on all sides there are pathetic contemporary records of those

The
catacomb of
St. Callixtus.

Graves of the
3rd century
popes.

Tomb-
chamber of
St. Cecilia.

who were laid in these sacred caves. The shelves containing the bodies wrapped in linen cloth coated with plaster were closed with hermetically sealed slabs, on which the relatives carved a name or prayer or words of faith and hope. The ceilings and walls are naïvely decorated with illustrations of divine deliverances, of Abraham and Isaac, Noah, Moses, or Daniel; of miracles of mercy—water turned into wine, multiplication of the loaves, giving sight to the blind; of resurrection types—Jonah or Lazarus; of symbols of the sacraments. They are not and were not intended to be works of art, but expressions of feeling; frequently an isolated figure, a dove with an olive branch, or six water-pots, seven loaves—enough to indicate what was meant—stand alone. The earliest pictures are adaptations from classic mythology—Orpheus representing the Saviour, a peacock immortality, a phoenix resurrection, a dolphin the passage to paradise, cupids among the grapes the spiritual vintage. Especially noticeable is the intense reverence for the Saviour Himself, who is never depicted except by symbol. The Good Shepherd of the catacombs is a country youth in tunic and buskins. It was a later and less sensitive age that filled the churches with representations of the passion. A favourite symbol with the first Christians was the fish, because *ichthys*, the Greek word for fish, is composed of the initial letters of the Greek expression, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. Another common figure is the Orante, a female in the attitude of prayer, representing sometimes the Church, at others the deceased, or the soul which had passed.

The cemetery of Domitilla has attractions of its own. It was the private burial-ground of the wife of Flavius Clemens, who was martyred by his cousin, the emperor Domitian (81-96). Her two servants, Nereus and Achilleus, and another martyr, St. Petronilla, once called the daughter of St. Peter, were buried there, and over their graves was built a basilica, of which there are extensive remains with

The
cemetery of
Domitilla.

da martiro
E da celio venne a questa hora - Pa. x 123, 129

many fragments of sculpture. Of greater interest still is the original burial-place of Domitilla herself and other

Christians of the imperial family. Christian members of the Flavian family, with its entrance from the road of first-century

brickwork, its accommodation for the love-feast preceding the Eucharist, its meal chambers decorated with amorini, its kitchen, cellar and well. In another part is the tomb-chamber of the Aurelian gens, the Christian branch of the family of Marcus Aurelius. A chamber of exceptional architectural merit in this cemetery contains the tomb of a fossor, one of the diggers employed in its excavation. It is evidently the work of

a brother fossor who has given extra care to the design, decorating it with columns and a vaulted ceiling and with his friend's likeness in professional garb, tools included. An early representation of the Virgin and Child receiving the offerings of the Magi, and another

Early portraits of St. Peter and St. Paul. of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, with the traditional features since stereotyped by centuries of art, are amongst the wall decorations. In this cemetery was found the

bronze dish of the second or third century and now in the Vatican museum, on which the heads of the apostles are beautifully engraved with these clearly-defined features.

CONSTANTINE AND THE CHURCH

After the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the empire Constantine removed the capital from Rome to the shores of the Bosphorus, where he built on the site of the old Byzantium the new city, which has ever since been known by his name. The Greek-speaking provinces were highly cultured and apparently far more important than the barbaric West, and from this point of view Constantinople was an ideal centre. Looking back, however, we see that the future lay with the West and

that the withdrawal of the imperial presence was of advantage to its development.

Before relegating Rome to a secondary position the emperor made liberal gifts to the Church. He pre-

Imperial gifts to the Church. sented its bishop with the Lateran palace as a place of residence and added to it a

basilica and a baptistery. Moreover, he built, with money from the imperial exchequer and from the designs of the imperial architects, churches over the graves of St. Peter, St. Paul, S. Lorenzo, St. Sebastian, and St. Agnes in the various cemeteries outside the walls.

A greater service still to the Church at large was the part taken by the first Christian emperor in settling doctrinal disputes and bringing about authorised interpretations of Christian truth. A matter of such vital importance to human life had necessarily to satisfy the intellect as well as the heart, and there had never been a time in the world's history when such questions could have been handled with greater keenness, subtlety, and precision than in the Greek-speaking world of that date. The discussions were largely on the borderland of the finite and the infinite and produced attempts to define the indefinable. It was necessary for the future security of the Church that an authorised exposition of the

The Apostles' Creed. faith should be made. The Apostles' Creed, which had been in use for some time, needed expansion. In response, therefore, to the sum-

mons of the emperor representatives from all parts of Christendom met at Nicæa in Bithynia in 325 and drew

The Nicene Creed. up the Nicene Creed, which has been of untold value ever since. Freedom of discussion, however, continued and new heresies were

subjected to further decisions. A document of greater detail, embodying these decisions and called after the

The Athanasian Creed. name of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, upon whose teaching they were based, was promulgated in the South of Gaul in the fol-

lowing century and informally adopted by the Catholic Church. These three creeds, founded on the teaching

of Holy Scripture, have been the sheet anchors of the faith throughout the ages.

The monuments of these early centuries are for the most part churches which have never ceased to be used. They have been subjected to the wear and tear of time, to the accidents of earthquake and fire, to the injuries of invasion and violence, and to well-intentioned but frequently ill-advised rebuildings, restorations and redecorations. We must be prepared, therefore, to find every building a patchwork of many ages, and thankful when we discover amongst its varied contents memorials of important epochs or relics of artistic worth.

THE LATERAN BUILDINGS

The Lateran buildings claim our first attention as the central point of church work during the first thousand years from the days of Constantine. Unfortunately their main features belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but with patience mementoes may be found of great names and great events, and fragments which represent great artistic movements. They consist of the basilica of St. John between the sixteenth-century palace (now the museum) on the right* and the monastic buildings on the left; the baptistery and annexed chapels; the Scala Santa, the chapel of S. Lorenzo, and the apse of the banquet hall on the other side of the piazza. The whole of the intervening space was once covered with buildings connected with the palace, which was the principal residence of the popes from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries.

* Roman churches seldom stand east and west; the words, right and left will, therefore, be used in the sense that objects are to the right or left of a person facing the main altar, whether outside or inside the church.

The Baptistery

Plan of building	4th c.	Chapel of St. John the Evangelist	5th c.
Porphyry columns	antique	Mosaic of ditto	7th c
Portico mosaic	5th c.	Chapel of S. Venanzio	7th c
Chapel of St. John the Baptist	"	Mosaic of ditto	15th c.
Bronze doors of ditto	antique	Tabernacle for oil	

The only building of this group which can be said to represent in any way the Constantinian structures is the baptistery. It would be too much to claim that it is the actual handiwork of his builders, but it is their design. The entrance was originally by a portico on the basilica side, which was converted in the twelfth century into a chapel. The present doorway, windows, and external decorations belong to the time of Gregory XIII (1572-85), the reformer of the calendar. The modern appearance of the building has been further emphasised by a yellow wash. But the octagonal form, external

and internal, is distinctly Constantinian, and is the prototype of all the circular and octagonal baptisteries of Christendom. The porphyry columns of the interior and of the portico were probably introduced after the capture of Rome by Alaric in 410, or more likely after the devastation of the Vandals in 459. In the former case they would form part of the rebuilding by Sixtus III (432-40), and in the latter would be brought by Hilary (461-8) when he added the two chapels. They came from an imperial building, which would not have been touched before the barbarian invasions. The success of Alaric was the death-blow of paganism and destroyed all sentimental respect for temples. The green basalt bath had no doubt done duty in one of the thermæ. The building has undergone repairs and redecorations at various times, once under Urban VIII (1623-44), as may be seen by the Barberini bees.

A document known as the Donation of Constantine made its appearance in the ninth century, which connected the baptism of the emperor with this building.

As a matter of fact it took place in the East shortly before his death. But the document had a purpose and was regarded seriously between the ninth and the sixteenth centuries. The incidents described in it were depicted by Giulio Romano (1492-1546) on the walls of the hall of Constantine in the Vatican palace. It stated that Constantine, being smitten with leprosy and advised to bathe in children's blood, was instantaneously cured by baptism at the hands of the pope in this building; that he thereupon conferred the western empire on the papacy and retired to his new capital on the shores of the Bosphorus. Its purpose was to claim for the popes full sovereign rights over the West and the power to make and unmake its emperors and kings.

More historical but no less fantastic was the use of the baptistery by the visionary Rienzi in the fourteenth century. On two occasions he bathed in its font—(1) before dubbing himself a knight, and (2) before inaugurating the restoration of the ancient republic.

Attached to the building are four chapels. On the right and left of the entrance are those of (1) St. John the Baptist, and (2) St. John the Evangelist, built by Pope Hilary (461-8) and still retaining his inscriptions on the lintels. Rome had passed through terrible experiences since the building was first erected. Its capture by Alaric in 410 had been regarded by the civilised world as the herald of the end of all things. The invasion of Attila and his Huns had been stayed by the clever diplomacy of Pope Leo I, but Genseric and his Vandals had plundered the city mercilessly and committed wanton destruction. This was in 459,

only two years before the papacy of Hilary. It is refreshing, therefore, to find that the Church was alive and under an active ruler.

The bronze doors of the chapel of the Baptist and the porphyry columns on either side of them, and the fluted serpentine columns of the altar canopy, are

Donation of
Constantine,
9th c.

Purification
of Rienzi.

Chapels of
St. John the
Baptist and
St. John the
Evangelist,
5th c.

from pagan buildings left in ruins. The doors of the opposite chapel are of thirteenth century work, perhaps inspired by the older ones, or it may be a substitute for more valuable ones. The attraction of this chapel of

St. John the Evangelist is the mosaic of its ceiling, a work of the time of Hilary, the middle of the fifth century. Mosaic

Mosaic of the
5th c.

decoration had been practised by the Romans for centuries, especially on floors and walls. But it was of marble

cubes, the tesserae which Romans carried about with them wherever they went, or an inlay of small pieces of marble cut to form patterns. At

Roman
mosaic.

the end of the third century glass cubes of various colours, profusely mixed with gold leaf under a glass film, were introduced. This may be called a Christian

Christian
mosaic.

art, as its first use was nearly contemporary with the Constantinian era, and its development was the work of ecclesiastical architects. No more effective or durable form of church decoration has ever been discovered. In this instance we have work that has been in position for nearly sixteen hundred years, which in spite of injury by damp still retains much of its original beauty. The design is of the kind found in the

Design
transitional.

earliest churches before the pagan decorative traditions had died out or been superseded.

It represents the Lamb surrounded by birds and fruits symbolising the four seasons and four elements. On one of the walls is a fifteenth-century relief of St. John adored by Leo I. In the old portico, which

The old
portico.

Mosaic of
the 5th c.

was made into a chapel in the twelfth century, when the bodies of St. Rufina and St. Secunda were translated to its altars, there is another mosaic of the fifth century, a conventional

vine pattern of great beauty and in excellent preservation. Here again the motive is decorative and not didactic, as it would have been a little later. In the chapel of S. Venanzio the mosaic is of the seventh century when the classic tradition had been long superseded. Rome after a period of barbarian kings, Odoacer and

Theodoric, had passed again under the direct control of Constantinople. The long siege under Belisarius had taken place, the exarchs were established at Ravenna and the ecclesiastical offices were filled by Greeks. The builder of this chapel, John IV (640-2), was a Dalmatian, who brought the bones of some early Dalmatian martyrs to

Chapel of
S. Venanzio.

Mosaic of the
7th c.

Rome. The chapel was built in their honour, and in the mosaic they are represented on either side of the tribune arch. Church decoration had become by this time entirely ecclesiastical and didactic. In the upper part of the apse is the half figure of the Saviour between two angels, and below them the Madonna in intercessory posture—an unusual design even in Rome; on her right are St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, and the patron saint of the chapel, St. Venantius; on her left St. Peter, St. John the Baptist and St. Domnus; at each end the popes John IV and Theodore, the founder and finisher of the chapel. Above are the mystic cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and between them the apocalyptic symbols of the evangelists, the angel of St. Matthew, the lion of St. Mark, the ox of St. Luke, and the eagle of St. John. This part of the subject, which was in use for many centuries in apse decoration, was taken, it will be noticed, from the Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine. In the arrangement of the figures of Roman mosaics, as distinguished from those of Ravenna and of Byzantine work out of Rome, St. Paul is always on the right and St. Peter on the left of the central figure, which is remarkable in view of the position held by the two apostles in the estimation of Rome at a later date.

There is a tabernacle of artistic merit on one of the walls by or after Mino da Fiesole. The annual supply of consecrated oil needed for ritual purposes in the city is kept in it and dispensed on Maundy Thursday by the Mother Church to all the churches of Rome.

St. John's Lateran

Bronze doors	antique	Statue of Nicholas IV	13th c.
Statue of Constantine		Giotto's fresco	14th c.
Apse mosaic	5th and 13th c.	Altar canopy	
Statues of St. Peter and St. Paul	12th c.	Effigy of Martin V	15th c.
Bronze doors in cloisters	"	Nave pavement	"
Cloisters	13th c.	Tombs of popes, &c.	

The basilica built by Constantine was dedicated to Christ the Saviour—a most appropriate title for 'the Mother and Head of all the churches of the city and of the world,' as the inscription on the façade claims it to be. A monastery was attached to it in the sixth century in the names of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, and somehow these were transferred to the church. It has had more than its share of misfortunes, having been ravaged by barbarians, overthrown by earthquake, twice destroyed by fire, and several times reconstructed by incompetent architects. At a very early date it was a five-aisled basilica like St. Paul's outside the walls, but now, though still retaining its original ground plan, it is in the heavy style of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Borromini, under Innocent X (1644-55), clothed its columns in cumbrous pillars with flamboyant statues. Della Porta covered it with an over-elaborate ceiling and Alessandro Galilei, under Clement XII (1730-40), added the portico with its row of theatrical saints. At the left end of the vestibule is a contemporary statue of Constantine from his thermæ on the Quirinal, an example of the decadent art of the fourth century. The bronze doors of the main entrance are from the old Roman senate house, and the blocked doorway to the right is the Porta Santa of the jubilee year. After gaining a general impression of the interior from the end of the nave, the inner right aisle should be examined. Behind the first pillar is a framed fragment of Giotto's fresco of the proclamation of the first jubilee by Boniface VIII in 1300. Hildebrand had reconstructed the papacy in the

Contemporary
statue of
Constantine.

Giotto's
portrait of
Boniface VIII.

eleventh century, and for two hundred years the popes, whenever they had been strong enough personally, had been the most powerful potentates in Europe. Rome crowded with pilgrims eager to obtain the spiritual advantages of this new ecclesiastical festival was never more visibly the capital of Christendom than in this year 1300. Five years later the papacy lay prostrate through the overbearing conduct of Boniface VIII towards the reigning sovereigns of France and England. The papal monarchy, as it was called, was at an end, the seat of the papacy was moved for seventy years to Avignon, and the population of Rome dwindled down to 17,000. Giotto was present at the jubilee and has given us this contemporary portrait. Against the next pillar is the memorial of Sylvester II (999-1003), the learned

The learned
pope of the
10th c.

pope of Otto III's appointment, who ruled the Church at the arrival of the first millennium, when men feared the end of the world. Gerbert had passed some part of his life amongst the Moors of Spain, who were far in advance of the rest of Europe in intellectual matters. Milman quotes a passage in which he is credited with an invention for working an organ by steam. His uncanny knowledge was attributed to an evil source. He wanted to reform the Church, unite the East and West, drive the infidels from the holy places, but was ahead of his time. Both he and the emperor are said to have come to an untimely end in Rome through poison. In the relief he is bestowing the crown of Hungary on its sainted King Stephen, the first papal act of this nature outside the empire.

The leader of
the Lombard
League.

On the third pillar is the tablet of Alexander III (1159-81), the successful opponent of the great Hohenstaufen emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, from whom he wrung the independence of the northern Italian cities. At the end of the right transept are two handsome fluted columns of giallo antico, and within the chapel of the Crucifix next to the wall a kneeling figure of Pope Nicholas IV (1288-94), a work of merit for this early age,

A 13th c.
statue.

Between this chapel and the apse the late Pope Leo XIII erected a monument with effigy to Innocent III (1198-1216), the greatest of the successors of Hildebrand, under whom the papacy became the arbiter and supreme court of appeal in western Christendom. King John of England, Philip Augustus of France, and sundry other royal persons had practical experience of its power. Leaving the church for a moment by the door between the giallo antico columns we can examine the portico of Sixtus V (1585-90), which is a distinct improvement on that of Clement XII, though not quite

Double
towers not
Roman.

in harmony with or proportionate to the twin campaniles of an older date. This is the only instance of double towers in Rome, and these have been disfigured by a later addition of spires and cornices. In the left end of this vestibule there is a poor statue of Henry of Navarre, who conferred a monastery in Germany on the canons of this church and is a favourite with everyone in spite of his elastic conscience.

Within the church the next object of attention is the apse and its mosaic. The two last popes, Pius IX and Leo XIII, extended the sanctuary and consequently took down and restored the mosaic. Its previous history had been a chequered one. The head of our Lord in design at least, probably many times reconstructed, belongs to a mosaic of the fifth century, when the classic spirit still lingered. The larger figures on either side of the gemmed cross beneath it are Byzantine in conception and perhaps two centuries later in date. The Madonna with St. Peter and St. Paul stand on the right of the cross, St. John and St. Andrew on the left. None of the apostles have the emblems connected with them in later art. The four streams of paradise flowing from the cross and forming the mystic Jordan, the river of life which gives joy to all creatures, and the heavenly Jerusalem guarded by an angel, in which is the tree of life, are in accord with

Design of
mosaic,
5th c. ;

added to in
7th c. ;

early church symbolism. In the tree of life is the phoenix and at a lower level are the remaining apostles divided by palms. Now we come to the third interference with the design. Nicholas IV (1288-94), the first Franciscan pope, whose kneeling figure we have just seen, employed a Franciscan mosaicist, Jacopo Torriti, to restore this decoration and to insert St. Francis and St. Antony of Padua amongst the apostles, and himself in diminutive form at the feet of the Madonna. That none of these figures belonged to the original design can be seen by the space divisions. Torriti, moreover, introduced himself and his co-worker Camerino in the lower row.

An ambulatory runs round the apse externally, and on the left is the entrance to the sacristy, in which are a cartoon by Raphael, a wooden figure of the Baptist by Donatello, and other objects of attraction. Immediately behind the apse are two twelfth-century figures of St. Peter and St. Paul from the old basilica, crude in design and execution, but important examples of the revival of figure sculpture in Rome after the long age of darkness. From this period we begin to find the work of Roman lay sculptors, marble workers and decorators, which is full of promise. Unfortunately the absence of the popes at Avignon during the critical fourteenth century dispersed the artists and robbed Rome of its proper place in the Renaissance.

Two of the gilt bronze columns in the left transept are said to be from a pagan temple, and above the altar is inclosed what is claimed to be the table used at the Last Supper. A knock at the door in the left wall below the transept steps will gain admission to the cloisters, one of the most charming spots in Rome or anywhere else. The architecture of cloisters was naturally influenced by monks, who not only had trained artists and architects in their body, but representatives of all races. The Cistercians at this time were active church builders, especially in the

added to
again in
13th c.

Statues of
the 12th c.

Pagan spoils.

Gothic style, and doubtless had something to do with the cloisters added to the Roman monasteries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their development may be followed at Sta Prassede, S. Lorenzo, S. Paolo, Sta Sabina, and here where they

Roman
cloisters.

reached between the second and third decades of the thirteenth century the climax of beauty. The best work appears to have been done by Vassalectus, the son of Peter, whose names are inscribed on the inner frieze opposite the entrance.

A Roman
sculptor of
the 13th. c.

The style is as mixed as it is effective—a rare instance of successful eclecticism in art—classic in frieze and cornice, Oriental in spiral columns, Romanesque in arches, Gothic in slender shafts and capitals, Lombardic in animal forms, Byzantine in conventional ornament, and Roman in coloured decoration. Not the least charming contribution is the Roman use of

Mosaic inlay,
Roman.

mosaic in combination with architecture, which happily we shall have many opportunities of seeing. There are many noteworthy fragments of sculpture in these groined passages, portions of a Gothic tabernacle, the frieze of a tomb with processional relief, an episcopal throne in Cosmati setting, a row of Roman busts, the twelfth-century bronze doors of the old sacristy, and in the middle of the garden a well head with the shallow carving common between the eighth and eleventh centuries, but popularly associated with the woman of Samaria. The remaining attractions of the church are the nave pavement, the bronze effigy of Martin V (1417-31) in front of the confessio, and the tabernacle over the high altar. Martin V, the Colonna pope, who put an end for a time at least to the shameful contest between popes and anti-popes which followed 'the Captivity,' and restored the authority of the Church in the city and in the papal states, is represented in bronze by Simone Ghini and described in his epitaph as 'the happiness of his times.' We are indebted to him for the opus alexandrinum pavement of the nave. Though of eastern origin, as the name implies,

this beautiful floor covering had been made distinctly and essentially Roman by the skill of the Cosmati family, who put to excellent use the wealth of material at their disposal. The most effective belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before the artists were scattered; this is of the early fifteenth. The tabernacle has an interesting connexion with the Avignon period. It was presented by Urban V (1362-70), with the assistance of Charles V, King of France and patron of this church, during the papal residence at Avignon. This accounts for its Gothic form, which, however, shows the usual inconsistencies of the Italian variety. Within the altar are said to be amongst other relics the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Some of the chapels opening from the outer aisles, the Corsini on the left and the Torlonia on the right, &c., contain valuable marbles and sculpture of some merit.

The block of buildings on the other side of the piazza contains the Scala Santa, which is said to be the staircase of Pilate's judgment hall and to have been brought over at the time of the Crusades, and the chapel of the old papal palace. The latter contains the best Cosmati decoration and the best Gothic work in Rome, but the extraordinary sanctity of a Byzantine picture, claimed to be acheiropoieton, not made with hands, necessitates the exclusion of sightseers. Some idea of the design and decoration may be obtained by looking through the barred windows.

The brick apse and mosaic decoration outside this chapel, which is a conspicuous object in the piazza, are reproductions of a portion of the banquet hall in which Leo III entertained Charlemagne after the coronation in 800. This was the concluding act of the union between the papacy and the Frankish monarch, which constituted the Holy Roman Empire. Christendom was to be one state ruled by pope and emperor, but the line which separated

Cosmati
pavement.

Gothic
tabernacle.

Sancta
Sanctorum.

Banquet
Hall.

the spiritual and secular jurisdictions was never drawn. It was one of those theories of perfection which treat men as if they are angels and which always end in disaster. For centuries the compact was a continuous cause of quarrel between Church and State, and it would be difficult to recall an instance in which it was regarded as a deed of partnership for the general welfare of Christendom. The seeds of controversy may be seen in this mosaic. The Saviour in the middle is giving the great commission to his disciples to convert all nations. Below this, in the left corner, He bestows the keys on Pope Sylvester and the banner of military protection on Constantine. On the right St. Peter, with the keys on his knees, gives Leo III the pallium and Charlemagne the banner. It is implied that Constantine had held the position of secular head of the Church by divine appointment, and that Leo III had the right to transfer this position to the Frankish monarch by the Donation of Constantine, thereby placing the secular head in a position of obligation to the spiritual.

The baptistery marks the transition from paganism to Christianity in the fourth century, and the chapels of the two St. Johns the beginning of the struggle between the Church and barbarism in the fifth; that of S. Venanzio the renewed control of Constantinople over Rome, and the rule of Greek popes and Greek art from the sixth to the middle of the eighth centuries. The mosaic of the banquet hall recalls the separation from the East and the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire in the first year of the ninth century. From the middle of that century to the end of the tenth came the period of greatest darkness, when civilisation almost disappeared, followed by a new dawn marked by the papacy of Sylvester II (999-1003); then came the new birth of art represented here by the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul of the twelfth century, the cloisters of the

Institution
of the Holy
Roman
Empire.

Meaning of
the mosaic.

Revision.

thirteenth, and the fresco of Giotto of the last year of that century. The last period of the Gothic movement in the north is represented by the altar tabernacle, and the return of the popes from Avignon by the effigy of Martin V and the nave pavement. The baroque architecture is post-Reformation.

ST. PETER AND ROME

Next to the palace and basilica of St. John's Lateran, the most important of Constantine's gifts was the church of St. Peter over the traditional grave of the apostle. The present building is of the sixteenth century, but the nave and aisles of the earlier church, altered for structural purposes, form its crypt, and with the ancient tombs, monuments and fragments of sculpture, make an interesting memorial of Constantine's basilica.

The Roman Church claims that the pope is the head of Christendom as successor of St. Peter, thereby implying (1) that the apostle held this position and (2) that he transmitted it to the Bishop of Rome. The papal claim. The primacy is based on the words, 'Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build my Church' (St. Matt. xvi. 18), which are inscribed in letters of gold on the frieze of St. Peter's dome.

This is one of those vexed questions which unhappily divide Christendom and can only be noticed here for the purpose of giving such information as a visitor would be likely to need. St. Peter always held a leading position in the apostolic band and as a rule acted as their spokesman. On this occasion he replied to the question addressed to them all, 'Whom say ye that I am?' with the great confession, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' Our Lord's words imply that his name was then changed from Simon to Petros

(a stone) and that upon this *petra* (rock) the Church would be built. If *petros* and *petra* mean the same thing the passage would seem to prove too much. A simpler interpretation is that the *petra* was the truth just confessed, on account of which he would be called *Petros*. But the solution of the difficulty does not depend on our interpretation of the words but upon that of St. Peter and the other apostles who heard them. He lived for more than thirty years after the

Ascension, but not a vestige of any assertion of attribution of primacy is to be found. Primacy never claimed or attributed We have ample records of his early work to St. Peter. with and amongst the others in the Acts of the Apostles. He was their spokesman as before and on the great day of Pentecost explained the meaning of the miracle to the assembled Jews. He was especially appointed to admit Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, into the Church by baptism. If this constituted a primacy no one denies it. But primacy in the Roman Catholic sense he never claimed. He gave his experiences at the first council on the subject of circumcision, but St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, pronounced the decision. In the conflict of opinion on the same subject between himself and St. Paul, who, to use his own words, 'withstood Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed' (Gal. ii. 11), he does not assert nor does St. Paul admit a primacy. Not a word can be found in the New Testament or elsewhere in support of such a primacy or that the Bishop of Rome was to be his successor. If he did not possess it he could not transmit it.

There is no historical evidence that St. Peter was ever in Rome at all. The circumstantial evidence does not support the assertion that he was there as bishop for twenty-five years, but it gives ground for the supposition that he visited the city after the persecution of Nero and was martyred there.

Clement of Rome, writing some twenty-five years after the death of Nero, mentions St. Peter and St. Paul

in two successive sentences, but without naming the place. Ignatius, a few years later, couples St. Peter and St. Paul together as apostles of authority in connexion with the Roman Church. Papias, in the first quarter of the second century, refers to St. Mark's Gospel as written in Rome under St. Peter's teaching. Dionysus of Corinth, at the end of the second century, speaks of St. Peter and St. Paul coming to Italy together and suffering martyrdom at the same time. Clement of Alexandria, a little later, refers to St. Peter preaching in Rome and St. Mark writing his gospel there. The earliest existing list of Roman bishops was drawn up by Irenæus (c. 180), and in this the Roman Church is said to have been founded by St. Peter and St. Paul.

There are many indications that the early Roman Christians looked upon St. Peter and St. Paul as the joint founders of their church. In the catacombs they are represented together and in the third-century dish in the Vatican museum their heads are placed side by side. In the story of Leo the Great's diplomatic victory over Attila the two apostles appear together, and the chapel over the grave of St. Peter is dedicated to the joint apostles. It is remarkable that in the early mosaics St. Paul always occupies the place of honour on the right and St. Peter on the left. In the fourth-century mosaic at Sta Pudenziana St. Peter represents the church of the Jews and St. Paul the church of the Gentiles, to which the Romans undoubtedly belonged.

A strong argument against St. Peter's early visit to Rome is the fact that St. Paul wrote an epistle to the Romans, and expressed a strong wish to visit them, that he might impart a spiritual gift. He mentions many of the Roman Christians by name in this epistle and in those he wrote from Rome, but not a word is said of St. Peter.

St. Peter himself wrote two epistles, the first of which is addressed to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, and

is dated from Babylon. This we are told is used metaphorically for Rome. It is not like the outspoken St. Peter of the gospels to wrap up his meaning in this way when St. Paul was writing openly from Rome and mentioning Roman Christians. The strongest argument in support of his having been martyred in Rome is the honour paid to his grave, round which the early popes were buried.

St. Peter's
grave.

Origin and
growth of
the claim.

The churches of the West from the first naturally looked to Rome as their head, and when the capital was removed to Constantinople the whole of the organisation and prestige of the western empire gradually fell into the hands of the Bishop of Rome. He sometimes asserted his position more strongly than was liked. The patriarch of Constantinople never admitted it nor did the pope ever try to assert his authority over the eastern church. Even the archbishops of Milan and Ravenna resented the Roman claim.

With such opposition and with the increase of power and responsibility came the desire for divine sanction. It was long talked about and asserted by individuals, but not formulated until the ninth century. It then appeared in the form of the Forged Decretals (p. 180), that is a volume which purported to contain the written statements of the early popes on the subject. It is admitted that these decretals are not genuine, but it is claimed that they are true in spirit and on them the whole fabric has been built up. What may be called the vested interests of the papacy as an institution distinct from other bishoprics rest on this claim and with them are involved many others. The doctrine of papal infallibility has magnified the difficulty and the motto of Rome has become more than ever, *vestigia nulla retrorsum*.

THE CRYPT OF ST PETER'S.

Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus	4th c.	Tomb of Boniface VIII	14th c.
Grave of Leo the Great	5th c.	" " Pius II	15th c.
Portrait of John VII	8th c.	" " Callixtus III	"
Tomb of Emperor Otto II	10th c.	" " Paul II	"
" Gregory V	"	" " Innocent VIII	"
Will of Countess of Tuscany	12th c.	" " Alexander VI	16th c.
Tomb of Hadrian IV	"	Sculpture	15th c.
		Stuart graves	17th c.

The old church was similar in plan to that of St. Paul's outside the walls, with atrium, oratories, sacristies, campanile, and palace. The walls began to show signs of danger about the middle of the fifteenth century when Nicholas V (1447-55), the founder of the Vatican library, conceived the idea of erecting a set of new buildings, church, palace, library, &c., worthy of the papacy. His plans, however, did not go much beyond paper, and the real reconstruction began under Julius II (1503-13). The floor and lower part of the outside walls of the former church are preserved in the crypt of the latter, the five aisles being turned into three with broad dividing walls and a corridor marking the form of the old apse.

Bramante, the architect of Julius II, was severely censured by Michael Angelo for his wholesale destruction of historic monuments. Many more might have been incorporated in the new church, and the others with a little care could have been arranged in some order below. As it is, the ancient floor which witnessed the coronations and funerals, the services, pageants, and conflicts, the strange mingling of faith, superstition, and violence characteristic of European life between the fourth and sixteenth centuries, has the appearance of a barn stored with derelicts of a past generation. The monuments transferred to the present church may be left for consideration with the building itself, and the crypt (to which admission is easily obtained by written application)

Design of the first basilica.

Destruction of its monuments.

entered at once by the staircase near the pillar of St. Veronica under the dome.

The verger usually leads visitors to the chapels and corridor immediately below the staircase and, passing down the left aisle and up the right, returns by way of the chapel over the grave of St. Peter.

Taking this route we meet with (1) an altar of Cosmati work, an example of Roman sculpture of the eleventh or twelfth century; (2) a picture attributed to Simone Memmi; (3) a half figure of Boniface VIII; (4) a marble statue of St. Peter, which was originally that of a Roman consul, on a twelfth-century Cosmati throne; (5) in an annex to one of the chapels the graves of the first four popes who took the title of Leo. The first earned the title of Great (440-75) by his successful guidance of the Church in perilous times, an instance of which was his moral victory over Attila, King of the Huns, and the fourth is associated in name with the Leonine city, which he fortified against the Saracens (847-55); (6) on the walls of the same chapel fragments of an oratory built by John VII (705-8), the greatest of the Greek popes, and a contemporary likeness of himself executed during his lifetime, as is shown by the square nimbus. This should be especially noticed as an example of eighth-century portraiture in mosaic.

In the corridor (1) a large tenth-century mosaic of the Saviour between St. Peter and St. Paul, from the tomb of the Emperor Otto II (973-83); the former has three keys in place of the usual two, which indicates a period of expansion in papal claims; (2) a Damasine inscription similar in lettering to those in the catacombs, but relating here to the drainage of the Vatican hill; (3) reliefs from the tomb of Callixtus III (1455-8)—the first Borgia pope and uncle of the infamous Alexander VI, and from the ciborium of Innocent VIII (1484-92), whose effigy and monument are amongst the artistic treasures in the

Grave of Leo the Great, 5th c.

Portrait of John VII, 8th c.

Mosaic of 10th c.

present church. These reliefs are attractive as the work of Mino da Fiesole. In the left aisle, close to the corridor, is a fragment of the will of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, which was the cause of great quarrels and much fighting between the papal and imperial parties, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines as they were called, before a settlement was reached. She had inherited enormous landed estates, including a large part of Tuscany, which she left to the Church, but the emperor put in a claim for feudal rights. It was in the castle of the Countess Matilda at Canossa that Gregory VII (1073-87) humiliated Henry IV, with the result that the emperor invaded Rome and the pope had to be rescued by the Sicilian Normans who set fire to the city in several places. Against the wall is the tomb of the Stuarts, the descendants of James II, described as James III, Charles III, and Henry IX. Their monument by Canova is in the church above. At the end of the nave we are brought back to the dawn of new things after the darkest period of all. After the collapse of the Charlemagne dynasty confusion and chaos reigned for a century and a half in Rome as elsewhere. The change for the better began with the reign of Otto I, who renewed the connexion between Germany and Rome and was crowned

emperor. His son, Otto II (973-83), lies here in an imitation porphyry tomb, the real porphyry one having been commandeered for a fountain in the papal palace on the Quirinal. In a sarcophagus by his side is his nephew, who was made pope by Otto III under the title of Gregory V (996-91), the first German to hold the office. He was a capable man, 'preached in three languages including the vulgar tongue,' as the inscription says, but met with the same fate as his learned countryman and successor, Sylvester II—a dose of Italian poison. In a corresponding position in the opposite aisle is the effigy of Boniface VIII (1295-1303), whose likeness by Giotto we have seen in St. John's Lateran.

Will of the
Countess of
Tuscany,
12th c.

Tomb of
Otto II,
10th c.

Tomb of
Gregory V,
10th c.

There he wore a single crown, here he has adopted a second, later on a third was added that the pope might not appear inferior to the emperor who, in addition to the imperial crown, wore those of Germany and Lombardy. He lies here clothed in the dignity of death, peacefully sleeping now that life's fitful fever is over. It is a masterpiece of sepulchral art of the best period by Arnolfo di Cambio, and says in every line, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

Walking up the right aisle we find on our left the empty tombs of the two Piccolomini popes from Siena, Æneas Sylvius, who took the title of Pius II (1458-64), and his nephew, Pius III (1503), whose bodies have been transferred to the church of S. Andrea della Valle. Those who know Siena will recall Pinturicchio's brilliant record of the courtly pope's varied experiences all over Europe. Above them is a tomb still more attractive to the northern visitor, a rough early pagan sarcophagus decorated with oxheads and festoons, chosen by himself and still holding the remains of Hadrian IV (1154-9), Nicholas Break-

Sarcophagus
of Pius II,
15th c.

Sarcophagus
of Hadrian IV,
12th c.

speare, the only English pope. He found Rome in a state of turbulence through the preaching of Arnold of Brescia and reduced it to order, but not without the death of the ringleader. He refused to crown Frederick Barbarossa until he had received the customary marks of honour. An upright man of strong character, whose regret on his deathbed was that he had left his native country, but most of all that he had accepted the papacy. Behind is the sarcophagus in which were buried the two Borgia popes from Spain, uncle and nephew, Callixtus III (1455-8), and Alexander VI (1492-1503), who heads the list of popes of infamous repute. Against the outer wall is the tomb of the

Sarcophagus
of the Borgia
popes, 15th c.

Sarcophagus
of Paul II,
15th c.

luxurious Venetian, Paul II (1464-7), the builder of the Palazzo Venezia. He had caused the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantine's daughter, now in the Vatican museum, to be transferred

from^{her} mausoleum to his palace for his own interment, but his successors very properly refused to sanction such a piece of vandalism. Next come the stone coffins of Julius III (1550-5), the builder of the Villa Papa Giulio and distinguished even in the sixteenth century for nepotism; of Urban VI (1378-89), whose want of urbanity drove the French cardinals into schism; of Innocent VII (1404-6), Marcellus II (1555), and Innocent IX (1591-2).

We have now reached the corridor again, which runs round the ancient apse. Here are precious fragments from the tomb of Paul II and the ciborium of Innocent VIII by Mino da Fiesole and Giovanni Dalmata. Innocent VIII (1484-92), amongst other mercenary transactions connected with his papacy, undertook the charge of a young Turkish prince, whose presence in Constantinople was considered undesirable. The sultan, in addition to his annual payment, sent the pope the head of the spear which Longinus used at the Crucifixion. Innocent appears to have regarded this addition to the spiritual armoury of St. Peter's as the most important event of his papacy. Everything that art could do was employed in the construction of a shrine, and in the bronze monument which he commissioned Antonio Pollaiuolo to make for his own tomb he grasps a copy of the precious relic in one hand, while he blesses with the other. This is one of the treasures of the basilica above and the relic itself is enshrined in the Longinus pillar of the dome. Of the fragments in the corridor the 'Last Judgment,' 'Faith and Charity' by Mino, and 'Hope' by Dalmata should be especially noticed, and the other reliefs, the 'Creation,' 'Temptation,' 'Resurrection,' &c., will repay careful investigation.

On the inner wall of the corridor near the chapel is an important relief representing scenes from the life of St. Peter, amongst which is the episode of Simon Magus (p. 208), by Pollaiuolo. Opposite to the entrance of the chapel is the most highly finished and in every

way remarkable sarcophagus ever executed by Christian sculptor, still containing the remains of Junius Bassus, prefect of Rome in the last quarter of the fourth century. The details recall the paintings of the catacombs—the Saviour of the Orpheus type, the patience of Job, sacrifice of Isaac, deliverance of Daniel—while the ends are filled with the familiar transition theme of the Amorini among the vines. The visit closes in the chapel of St. Peter and St. Paul, the very dedication of which seems to indicate the joint foundation of the Roman Church as described by Irenæus (p. 96). The present chapel was the gift of Clement VIII (1592-1605) and is decorated in the over-elaborate style of that period. Here we are standing above the sarcophagus—which is traditionally said to hold the remains of St. Peter, apostle and martyr—and beneath the high altar and confessio of the most famous church of Christendom. We are, to say the least, amid surroundings which stimulate reflection.

Between the first-century grave of the great apostle and the fourth-century sarcophagus of the Roman prefect had passed the two and a half centuries of persecution during which the foundations of Christianity were firmly laid. The grave of Leo the Great marks the beginning of the barbarian inrush, of Leo IV the rise of the Saracen power, of Otto II and Gregory V the new dawn after a century and a half of darkness. The will of the Countess of Tuscany and the graves of Hadrian IV and Boniface VIII illustrate the beginning, middle, and end of the two centuries of papal monarchy (1073-1305). The sarcophagi of the fifteenth-century popes belong to the period between the return from Avignon (1377) and the Reformation, in the advent of which the lives of some of them were important factors.

Sarcophagus
of Junius
Bassus, 4th c.

Grave of
St. Peter,
1st c.

Sculpture of
Mino da
Fiesole,
15th c.

THE FOURTH CENTURY

CONSTANTINE died in 337 and was succeeded by his son Constantius. The great gain to the Christian Church of (1) the withdrawal of the capital to a distant country and (2) the doctrinal settlement of Nicæa, was

Imperial
interference
with the
Church.

at once seen. The disputants had not been silenced and the new emperor had been won over to the Arian views respecting the divine nature of the Founder of Christianity, which had been rejected at the Nicene Council. Constantius claimed to rule the souls as well as the bodies of his subjects and deposed Pope Liberius (352-66) because he would not rescind the articles of the Creed on this vital subject. He

Popes and
anti-popes.

at the same time elected Felix II and thus initiated the wretched system of popes and anti-popes. Thus early began the quarrel between Church and State which was to be almost incessant. The minute contribution made by the Eastern Church to the spread of Christianity and to the progress of civilisation manifests the result of excessive state control. The Western Church centred in Rome never wavered on the Arian question, but the action of Constantius had two serious effects: (1) the Gothic and other Teutonic tribes received their Christianity

Arianism of
the barbarian
tribes.

from Constantinople during the Arian predominance and consequently were at variance with the Roman Christians; and (2) the creation of two Christian parties in Rome, the imperial and papal, caused friction which resulted in scenes of violence and bloodshed at the next papal election. There were still influential people in the city, senators and others, who clung to the old pagan traditions, and these quarrels in the Church, doctrinal disputes, and the growing laxity of conduct amongst professing Christians, brought about a pagan reaction.

Pagan
reaction.

The Emperor Julian (60-63), nephew of Constantine, who had been brought up as a Christian, was in sympathy with it. He was a man of

ability, culture, and noble character, regarding the religious question from the point of view of Marcus Aurelius. But Christianity was not to be gauged then, or at any time, by the errors of its noisy professors, but by its vital influence on the lives of its sincere adherents wherever they were. Julian's attempt expired within a few years of his death, and he alone in the long list of emperors, most of whom were infinitely inferior to him in moral worth, has received the harsh name of Apostate. The Western Church produced many famous men in the

fourth century, amongst whom were three of the four Latin doctors: St. Jerome, the

translator of the Bible into the Latin version known as the Vulgate, which was practically the Bible of Western Christendom for more than a thousand years;

St. Augustine. St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo and the author of the 'Confessions' and of the 'City of God,'

which still retain their popularity; and St. Ambrose. Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, with whose name our liturgies and musical services are intimately associated.

STA MARIA MAGGIORE

Design of the building	4th c. ?	Reliefs of Mino da Fiesole	15th c.
Mosaics, the nave		Ceiling	
" triumphal arch	5th c. ?	Statue of Nicholas IV	16th c.
" apse	13th c.	" Clement IX	17th c.
" porch	"	Sistine chapel	and
Pavement	"	tombs	16th c.
Tomb of Card. Gonsalvo	"	Borghese chapel	and
Sculpture of Arnolfo di Cambio	"	tombs	17th c.

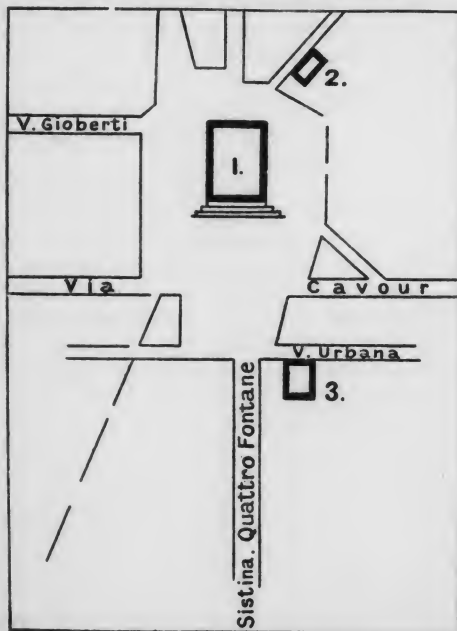
Though it is not fair to compare two totally different styles, those who are familiar with Gothic cathedrals cannot fail to notice the poverty of the Roman church exteriors. We are apt to blame the seventeenth-century architects who have filled the city with their baroque extravagances, but it was never otherwise. The pagan architects devoted the whole of their attention to the temple exteriors because the worshippers were without, and when the new

External
design of
Roman
churches poor.

religion brought the worshippers within the position was reversed. The churches in this respect were temples turned outside in.

Sta Maria Maggiore is a solid mass of travertine embedded in monastic and other buildings, with a tolerable

PLAN VII.—NEAR STA MARIA MAGGIORE



1. S. Maria Maggiore. 2. S. Prassede. 3. S. Pudenziana.

vestibule and open loggia on one side and a long flight of steps on the other. The exterior is the work of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architects with a thirteenth-century mosaic in the loggia, representing the legendary story of the foundation. The side domes belong to the chapels built by Sixtus V (1585-90) and Paul V (1605-21)

Mosaic of
13th c.

for their own tombs, not without detriment to the design of the interior.

But when we enter the church we find quite another story. What St. Peter's was before it was pulled down and St. Paul's before it was burnt, that is Sta Maria Maggiore now. There were differences in design of the interior, detail, but the general effect must have been very similar. The flat ceiling has probably taken the place of open timber and the aggressive baldachino did not hide the apse, but the long architraved colonnade drew the eye to the altar and presbytery, where the bishop sat in the midst of his clergy. When our minds went back just now to the Gothic cathedrals, we were contemplating buildings of the thirteenth century; even if we extend our thoughts to the Romanesque buildings, we find ourselves halting in the eleventh. Here we are standing in a church, which with a few alterations of furniture and ornamental detail is as it was designed and built in the fourth century.

The early
date of
churches
in Rome.

Let the mind realise this fact and it will begin to understand what Christian Rome has to show. Between this magnificent church and Westminster Abbey there is an interval of nine hundred years of Christian history. We have already gone through a period of a thousand years in connexion with monuments in Rome, and we are about to enter upon another period of similar length. And Roman monuments will be able to tell us something of nearly every century in that millennium, of which we learn almost nothing elsewhere. And the reason of this dearth is that it is not a story of progress, but of dire confusion. Great disturbing forces in the shape of continuous inrushes of barbaric tribes fell upon Europe soon after this church was built, and it was the work done in the churches of Rome and of the numberless centres connected with and controlled more or less by Rome, which brought order eventually out of chaos. The whole of the Gothic movement, which we were inclined a moment ago to bring into odious comparison with this

building, owes its very existence to this work; and it is nothing short of marvellous that a building should have gone through that experience of fifteen hundred years and remain as it is.

But are we right in saying that it dates from the fourth century? Look at the mosaic pictures above

Building may
be of earlier
date.

the architrave of the nave colonnades, familiar stories from the Old Testament; and at those on the triumphal arch, illustrations of our Lord's childhood from the New Testament, except one which is taken from an apocryphal gospel. A monumental work of expert criticism,¹ based mainly on these mosaics, was published a few years ago, in which the authors maintain that Sta Maria Maggiore is a build-

ing of the latter part of the second or early part of the third century. They contend that the mosaics of the nave and of the triumphal arch differ in spirit, in technique, and in teaching from those of a later date; that the material used, the method of using it, the style of composition, the choice of episodes and the lessons inculcated, belong to the second century, the time of Justin Martyr; that the illustration on the triumphal arch from the apocryphal gospel corroborates this contention, because that particular book was condemned by the Church in the fourth century; that further evidence is to be found in the tiles of the roof, of which a large number are original, and of these the majority bear the stamp of Septimius Severus (193-212); that the brick work of the nave is of the second century; that the use of the architrave instead of the archivolt on the nave colonnades, and the absence of a transept are in favour of their theory.

If they are right it means that some wealthy Christian built this church in his palace, decorated it with these mosaics and lent it for public worship. Our ideas on the subject of Christian liberty before the days of Constantine are no doubt prejudiced. The cemeteries

¹ *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, by Dr. Richter and A. C. Taylor.

were in daily use; the Christians assembled regularly in private houses for worship; there were at the time Romans of enormous wealth; there is nothing in the pictures to give offence or even to excite suspicion; the persecutions were partial and not general, spasmodic and not continuous. But the whole question is one for experts to decide.

Then, to turn from this fascinating theory to that more generally accepted, we find the building of the church attributed to Pope Liberius (352-66) and its first restoration to Pope Sixtus III (432-40). So that in any case we are on early ground.

Liberius was the pope deposed by Constantius because he would not accept Arianism, and it was in this basilica, known as the Basilica Liberiana, that the disgraceful scenes took place in connection with the next papal election. The story of the

Basilica
Liberiana.

Architrave
and no
transept.

Nave
mosaics,
4th c.?

dreams of Liberius and the wealthy Patricius, which enabled them to trace out the plan of the church on the August snow, as depicted in the loggia, is a medieval fancy. The church, a simple rectangular building, is divided into nave and two aisles with tribune; the columns support an architrave after the Greek fashion of the imperial days, and there is no transept. The columns of white marble from Hymettus, of one size and form and with Ionic capitals, were evidently made for one building and probably for this. The mosaics in the spaces above each columnar interval were made for that position and are, therefore, subsequent in date to the colonnade. Unfortunately the scale is too small for a satisfactory examination at so great a distance, but with a good glass on a bright day the subjects can be easily recognised. Beginning at the end of the left aisle near the altar there are: (1) Abraham with Melchizedek, (2) with the three angels, (3) leaving Lot, (4) Jacob blessed, (5) dreams (modern), (6) with Laban, (7) serves for Rachel, (8) marries Rachel, (9) divides the flocks, (10) returns

home, (11) modern, (12) meets Esau, (13) modern, (14, 15) deals with the Shechemites, (16, 17, 18) modern. From the end of the right aisle near the altar: (1) modern, (2) Moses found, (3) marries Zipporah, (4) Red Sea, (5) summons congregation, (6) strikes the rock, (7) intercedes at Rephidim, (8) sends out spies, (9) dies, (10) Jordan crossed, (11) Captain of the Lord of Hosts, (12) fall of Jericho, (13) defeat of the Amorites, (14) the five kings, (15) sun and moon stand still, (16) trial of the five kings, (17, 18) modern. It is probable that the pictures were reproductions from an illustrated Bible.

In some way the church appears to have been damaged early in the fifth century, possibly during the invasion of Alaric. Sixtus III (432-40) undertook its

Mosaic of
the triumph-
al arch,
5th c.?

restoration, and the mosaics on the triumphal arch are attributed to him by the earlier critics. Sixtus was a supporter of the Council of Ephesus (431), which decided that the Virgin was Theotokos, the mother of God. The great danger of the early Church was the unquenched spirit of polytheism, and in trying to satisfy it the border of orthodoxy was undoubtedly passed. The Lares and Penates were changed into patron saints, local deities into local martyrs, divus Julius and divus Antoninus into divus Petrus and divus Paulus. So, too, the cult of the Mater Dea and other goddesses was transferred to the Madonna and female saints. It has been suggested that Sixtus intended the mosaic of the triumphal arch as a memorial of the Council of Ephesus—a very different conclusion from that advanced by Dr. Richter.

Whether the mosaic is connected with this occasion or with Sixtus cannot, therefore, be asserted, but this pope did change the name of the church from Basilica Liberiana to Sancta Maria Mater Dei, which is still its full ecclesiastical title, and he inserted in the arch the words, 'Bishop Sixtus to the people of God.' Higher up is the enthroned book of the seven seals, another motive from the Apocalypse,

Change of
title,
5th c.

surrounded by apostles and evangelists; then, beginning on the left, is the annunciation to the Virgin (a queenly figure on a throne) and to Joseph, with the presentation opposite. Below come the Magi, the massacre of the Innocents, and the flight into Egypt; the last of these from the apocryphal gospel, representing the fall of the Egyptian gods in the presence of the infant Christ. Still lower are the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem with the faithful in the likeness of sheep. Unfortunately the details are on a small scale and the light is seldom good, but to the ordinary mind they seem to accord more with the post-Constantinian period than with those of the nave.

Between this restoration and the next of importance under Nicholas IV in the thirteenth century, there occurred in this church the disgraceful insult offered to Gregory VII (Hildebrand). While performing mass on Christmas Eve, 1075, he was violently dragged from the altar by a supporter of Henry IV to a fortified tower; on being rescued by his friends the next day he went back to the church and finished the mass.

The altar and choir arrangements went through three phases in the Roman churches. The primitive enclosed choir with ambones, such as we see in S. Clemente and in Sta Maria in Cosmedin, was in general use to about the eleventh century. In the next stage the enclosure and ambones disappeared in favour of a more elaborate confessio, and the ciborium or cup-shaped canopy was replaced by an architectural but still modest tabernacle; there are examples of these in S. Lorenzo, St. Paul's, St. John's Lateran, and elsewhere. Then came the aggressive modern baldachino with its rococo twists and twirls. The change to the second stage was probably made in the restoration under Nicholas IV (1288-92) and his powerful friend Cardinal Colonna. The pope was the Franciscan whose work we have already seen in St. John's Lateran, and here again he employed Torriti to manipulate an existing mosaic. In this instance the

Changes in
arrangement
of choir.

whole of the centre was cut out, leaving the handsome Constantinian scroll pattern as a border, and a new mosaic was inserted, representing the coronation of the Virgin, with figures of apostles and saints, amongst whom are the pope and cardinal on a scale of becoming modesty; underneath is a series of scenes from the life of the Virgin. This Cardinal Colonna and his brother, who was also a member of the college, took a prominent part in the downfall of Boniface VIII. The pope had excommunicated and deposed the Colonna cardinals with a high hand. When the breach with France occurred one of them returned at the head of a band of French mercenaries who maltreated the pope so severely that he died, and, with him, the papal monarchy. The French king secured the election to the papacy and the removal of the popes to Avignon, where they remained for seventy years.

The mosaics of this church belong to two distinct periods of art, the earlier ones to the pre-barbarian, and that of the apse to the post-barbarian times. After the construction of the earlier ones art gradually declined, until in the ninth and tenth centuries it was almost extinguished; then a revival set in which in due course led up to the Renaissance. The mosaic of the apse was finished about ten years before Giotto came to Rome. The beautiful pavement is of the same date. This kind of work was an importation from the East, as the name *opus Alexandrinum* implies, but was so much improved by the Roman artists, especially by members of the Cosmati family, that it deserves to be called, as it often is, Cosmati work. The wealth of beautiful marbles in Rome and the skill of the Roman workers in blending colours and constructing patterns give it a place of honour among the productions of Roman art. There is an excellent specimen executed in material from Rome and by thirteenth-century Roman workmen in the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey.

The Roman sculptors of the twelfth and thirteenth

Mosaic
of apse,
13th c.

Pavement,
13th c.

centuries showed great promise and, had it not been for the Avignon rupture, the position of Rome in the Renaissance revival would have been very different.

An example of their talent is to be seen in the tomb of Cardinal Gonsalvo (*d.* 1299) in the right aisle near the apse of this church.

It is Gothic in design with Roman colour, and nothing could be more impressive than the dignified repose of the episcopal effigy under the guardianship of the Madonna and saints portrayed in mosaic under the canopy. The lower part of the apse wall is decorated with reliefs attributed to Mino of Fiesole, but more probably by his assistants or, as has been suggested, by another artist of the same name. A much more valuable work of art has been dispersed in recent years for reasons it would be difficult to discover. One of the cherished possessions of Sta Maria Maggiore is a portion, so it is said, of the Bethlehem manger.

Sculpture by
Arnolfo di
Cambio,
13th c.

Arnolfo di Cambio (1232-1301) designed a shrine for it, which stood later in the chapel built out of the right aisle by Sixtus V (1585-90) as a mausoleum. It is now replaced by a confessio, the sacred relic having been moved to the high altar. There is enough of Arnolfo's work to point the contrast with its successor, two singularly expressive prophets being left in the spandrels of the arch facing the staircase, and some charmingly naïve Krippe figures, a Madonna and Child, Joseph, the magi and oxen, occupying a niche at the back of the uninspired Nativity over the altar. The chapel itself, like its fellow on the opposite side, is inappropriate to its environment. The time-honoured and beautiful colonnades

Chapel of
Sixtus V,
16th c.

were broken through to provide ingress to these papal mausolea. The marbles without doubt are rich and rare but they surfeit the most robust appetite for colour by their excess and irritate the more sensitive by their discord. Sixtus V was for the greater part of his ecclesiastical life a Franciscan monk who, as far as the

artistic talent at his disposal would allow, did splendid work in the restoration of Roman buildings. He owed his promotion to Pius V (1566-72), himself a Dominican and Grand Inquisitor, whose tomb the grateful Franciscan placed in the chapel opposite to his own. We can understand the spirit of Browning's bishop mov-

ing the Borghese and Aldobrandini popes, Paul V (1605-21) and Clement VIII (1592-1605), who lie in the opposite chapel, but why the son of the fisherman (for that was the humble rôle of the father of Sixtus) should wish to inclose his mortal remains in this luxurious casket is a puzzle. His elevation to the apostolic see must have let loose a stream of vanity which the cloister life had failed to scotch. The Sixtine chapel possesses a Ribera and a Guido Reni, but the Borghese is not content with less than a Madonna by St. Luke, certified by papal bull. Experts whisper Byzantine, but they are fallible. Clement VIII was the pope who did the honours of Rome to the representative of the ironical penitent, Henry of Navarre. In the sacristy there is an imperial porphyry bath converted into a font and one of Mino's tabernacles for holy oil, and on either side

of the main entrance to the nave are statues to two more popes—a tardy act of justice to Nicholas IV, the restorer of the church in the thirteenth century, and Clement IX (1667-1670). The fluted column in the piazza is a solitary remnant from Constantine's great civil basilica, a suitable adjunct to a church with interests throughout the centuries.

Let us realise that we are in a Christian church of the fourth—it may even be of an earlier century—a building in which there has been continuous Christian worship for over fifteen

Revision.

hundred years. It represents art as it was received from imperial Rome. Within a hundred years of its foundation the city was captured and sacked many times and the whole of Western Europe was swamped

by tribes of vigorous barbarians, our own ancestors. Between the mosaics of the nave, triumphal arch and groundwork of the apse and that of the coronation of the Virgin in the centre of the apse lay eight critical centuries, during which there was a tremendous conflict between barbarism and civilisation. During the whole of that long period, of which we know so little, this was one of the churches which went on steadily upholding the principles of the Christian faith, and it was this work which prevailed in the end. When Torriti inserted the coronation of the Virgin in the Constantinian scroll the victory was won. A few years later Giotto was in Rome, the Cosmas family was at work, Roman sculptors were designing tombs like that of Gonsalvo, Arnolfo di Cambio had come from Florence. Then came the crash, the desertion of Rome by the popes (1308-77), the corruption of the popes and of the Church after the return, and the Reformation.

STA PUDENZIANA

Underground house	Imp. period	Pavement	4th c.
Bath	" "	Columns	8th c.
Fresco of Saints	" "	Pillars	16th c.
Hall church	4th c.	Doorway	12th c.
Apse mosaic	"	Campanile	"

St. Peter, in the traditional story of his life in Rome, is said to have lived in the house of Pudens, who had two daughters, Pudentiana and Praxedes. St. Paul in his second epistle to Timothy, which he wrote from Rome during his second visit and probably just before his death in 67 or 68, sends the greetings of Pudens. Justin Martyr, who wrote in defence of Christianity to the Emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, gave his address at the time of his trial before the latter emperor as the house of Pudens. The house of Pudens is said to have been one of those in which the early Christians of Rome assembled for the purpose of public worship. Below the church of Sta Pudenziana (Plan

vii. 3) the rooms of a house have been found, in one of which is a fresco representing three saints, a male between two females who are supposed to be Pudens and his two daughters. There are also the remains of a bath.

The present church dates in its earliest form from the fourth century. It was then a rectangular building with apse and without aisles, like Sta Croce Hall church, in Gerusalemme at first and Sta Balbina 4th c. as it still is. These are called hall churches, as they seem to have originated in an open hall and not in the usual divided atrium. A portion of the apse of Sta Pudenziana was cut off at the time the dome was built in the sixteenth century. The aisle division had been made in the eighth century with columns which, as in the case of Sta Croce, formed a nave less wide than the apse. The columns were made into pillars in the restoration of the sixteenth century, when chapels were formed in the aisles and a central, domed sanctuary built between the nave and the apse. To accomplish this a portion of the apse with its precious mosaic was unfortunately sacrificed.

In the fourth century churches were not dedicated to saints, but were known by a title. This was the titulus Pudentis or the ecclesia Pudentiana. It Titulus Pudentis. was probably the adjective in the latter expression that gave the present name of Sta Pudenziana. The rectors of these early titular churches became the first cardinals, and to the present day, with some later additions, these churches give titles to the members of the College. Cardinal Wiseman was once and Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, is now, titular of Sta Pudenziana.

The great attraction of the church is its curtailed mosaic, which was executed in the last decade of the fourth century. The two female figures represent the churches of the Jews and of the Apse mosaic, 4th c. Gentiles crowning St. Peter and St. Paul—an interesting side-light on the view taken by the Roman Church of the fourth century of the two apostles. St.

Paul, it will be observed, occupies the place of honour on the right, as in all early Roman art. The background is the heavenly Jerusalem, represented by its earthly counterpart, as it appeared at that date. The buildings have been identified as the memorial churches built by Constantine over the holy places of the sacred city, which have been grouped for pictorial purposes round the cross of Calvary.

This is one of the few realistic designs in early church decoration. We should suppose that it was the work of a Roman artist who had been brought up in the classic tradition. Nothing will be seen like it in the thousand years which lay between it and the Renaissance, when realism was born again. The ecclesiastical designers of early church decoration deliberately abandoned realism. Their desire seems to have been to make the worshippers feel when they entered a church that they had left the world outside. The figures in mosaic, fresco, or tempera were human beings like themselves but not of this world. It was the spirit which clothes the officials in ecclesiastical garments and differentiates the form of the church and its furniture from that of our own home. It became uncouth and repulsive in the dark ages when art almost died, but this was not the fault of the idea, but of the execution. Most people acknowledge that the Byzantine style, as it is somewhat loosely called, makes a far greater appeal to the religious emotions than the most perfect realism of the Renaissance masters.

In the side aisles is some mosaic pavement of the old Roman style which probably belonged to the fourth-century church; a fragment of sculpture Mosaic pavement, 4th c. showing the Christian monogram in the chapel on the right of the altar, and a slab said to have been used by St. Peter as an altar in the chapel on the left. In the chapel opening from the left side there is an opportunity of making the acquaintance of some of the old Roman marbles, giallo, verde and nero antico, a shell marble from the Abruzzi, and in

the end wall panels of verde di Firenze, a kind of serpentine.

The carved twelfth-century doorway in the façade is unusual in Rome, and the mosaic, though modern, is of ancient design. Sta Pudenziana is with Gregory VII (Hildebrand) and St. Pudent with Pius I (142). It will be noticed how much the level of the road has risen since the church was built owing to the accumulation of ages. The campanile is one of the sixteen bell towers built in Rome, nearly all of them in the twelfth century and most of them beautiful.

Like its neighbour Sta Maria Maggiore this is a genuine memorial of the early centuries, linking us with the apostles and the empire. It has ministered to at least fifty generations of Christians and it may be sixty. The underground house goes back to early imperial days and the mosaic in its apse breathes the imperial spirit. The resemblance between it and the Renaissance should help us to realise the gulf between them. It is this ten centuries of conflict that we want Rome to illumine, as it is a blank almost everywhere else. The campanile and doorway speak of the coming revival, and the ugly pillars and sixteenth-century restoration of the reaction which followed it.

STA CROCE IN GERUSALEMME

Hall church	4th c.	Pavement	12th c.
St. Helen's chapel		Tabernacle	16th c.
St. Gregory's reliquary	6th c.?	Relics	4th c.
Crucifix	10th c.	Campanile	12th c.
Statues of the Apostles	12th c.		

Opposite St. John's Lateran in a corner of the Aurelian wall is Sta Croce in Gerusalemme which was built in the Sessorian palace (Plan i. g.) by St. Helena, the mother of Constantine. As the wife of Constantius, the Cæsar of the northern division of the empire under Diocletian (284-306), she had spent a part of her life

at Trèves and York, where her husband died. Her zeal for Christianity makes it probable that her husband's tolerant attitude towards the British Christians during the Diocletian persecution and her son's ultimate acceptance of the creed as the religion of the empire owed much to her influence. In her old age she made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and came back with wonderful stories of dreams and miracles, and a still more wonderful collection of relics, including the veritable cross of the passion. She was so enamoured of the spiritual advantages of her journey to the Holy City that she gave up a portion of her palace in Rome to make a pilgrim's shrine for those who could not afford time or money for the longer journey. The hall of the palace

was turned into a church, behind and below the sacred relics. The floor was covered with earth from Jerusalem itself, so that pilgrims kneeling on the holy soil before the cross of Calvary soon spoke of Sta Croce in Gerusalemme in preference to the more rigid Basilica Heleniana of the earlier form.

The palace hall can still be traced in the outer walls and apse of the church which in later years received the normal triple division. As in the case of Sta Pudenziana the nave does not fit the apse. From the fourth century to the eighth the service was performed in an open rectangular space with apse recess, until Gregory II (715-31) found it necessary to provide a new roof. His architects were probably not prepared to cover so wide an area and therefore adopted the simpler plan of robbing a pagan temple of its granite columns and introducing the ordinary ecclesiastical arrangement. Of the three hall churches, Sta Pudenziana, Sta Croce, and Sta Balbina, the last only has been permitted to retain her unorthodox dress throughout the centuries and is the only one of which the earlier history is unknown.

The present appearance of Sta Croce in Gerusalemme without and within does not inspire the visitor with

unmitigated admiration for its various architects. There is a campanile of the twelfth century embedded in monastic buildings which were originally of the same date. The columns of the portico, like those of the interior of the church, are mostly monoliths of granite from the banks of the Nile, brought to Rome, it is needless to say, in imperial days. The Cosmati pavement as usual atones for a multitude of artistic sins. An inscription near the door states that the church was made titular by Gregory the Great, whose every act commands our deepest respect.

Campanile,
12th c.

Antique
columns.

Pavement,
12th c.

In this case he enabled some fifty-four clerics, whose names are engraved on the stone, to reach the last step but one on the ladder of ecclesiastical ambition. An epitaph close by records the virtues of Paulus, an architect connected with the church, but the date 1538 shows a third Roman sculptor of the same name. Magister Paulus of the twelfth century appears at S. Lorenzo, of the fifteenth century in Sta Maria in Trastevere, and of the sixteenth century in this church. He appears to have made the tabernacle at the back of the altar, which took the place of the more primitive ciborium or receptacle for sacred food, on or over the early altars. A Latin epitaph on the entrance wall records some of the experiences of Benedict VII (974), whose papacy fell in very evil days.

The relics were formerly in St. Helen's Chapel behind and below the church, but are now in St. Theodore's Chapel beyond the sacristy and on an upper level. The underground chapel, however, is worth a visit, though the mosaics have been restored beyond recognition. In the chapel of the Pieta at the bottom of the stairs there are two effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, which probably did duty once as pagans and were converted in the twelfth century into imaginary apostolic portraits.

Behind the altar of the chapel of St. Theodore, under

St. Helen's
Chapel,
4th c.

Statues of
the Apostles,
12th c.

which are the remains of the saint, is a relic chamber containing what are alleged to be the central part of the inscription from the cross, with the words 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews,' written in Greek, Latin and Hebrew from right to left in Hebrew fashion (1); one of the sacred nails (2); two of the thorns from the crown (3); the finger of St. Thomas (4); &c. On one side of the chamber is a crucifix of the tenth century and on the other a reliquary said to have belonged to Gregory the Great, but probably of Byzantine workmanship of a later date.

It can hardly be denied that the spirit of Christianity was detrimentally affected by the importance attached to relics in the church from the fourth century onwards, nor can any reasonable person close his eyes to the fact that many relic chambers were filled from doubtful sources. The effect in the present day depends on a variety of causes which vary in each individual. In my own case experiences in Roman churches drove me so often to look for the word Nehushtan in a biblical concordance that I can now turn to the passage without help.

St. Theodore's
Chapel and
its relics.

Revision.

SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

This church (Plan xi. 5) is a memorial of the conflict between Christianity and paganism during the attempt made by the Emperor Julian (360-3) to re-establish the old gods of Rome. It gives us an opportunity of considering a subject which otherwise would cause continuous difficulty in reviewing medieval monuments. Christianity introduced the highest moral and spiritual ideals, but it left man an absolutely free agent. In the early Church and especially during the days of serious persecution the standard of conduct was high, but as soon as the purifying atmosphere of danger and opposition was withdrawn it fell. Numbers joined the Church without taking it seriously, and those with influence

gained access to its official positions. St. Jerome, who lived in Rome in the fourth century, complains bitterly of the worldliness of the clergy of his time. We shall see a good deal of this and worse as the barbarian element increases, but we must remember (1) that Christianity is to be judged by its profession and not by its professors; and (2) that it was never without its sincere adherents, prominent or not. The proof of this last assertion is to be found in the constant upward tendency of western civilisation. In all the earlier civilisations, Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Grecian, Roman, the moral state at the end was worse than at the beginning; in ours the tendency, when once it gained the upper hand, has always been upward. The standard of justice, morality, liberty, humanity, is higher and more widely spread now than it ever has been; the tone of public opinion—that is, the average sentiment of mankind in the mass—may be miserably low, but it is sounder than it has ever been and is on the up grade.

The action of Constantine in deposing the pope created parties in the Church which made for anything but harmony. Julian led the reaction, and while he was fighting abroad his agents carried out the religious revolution at home. When the emperor fell in battle in 363, the bodies of two young Christian officers of the imperial guard were found concealed in their own house on the Cælian hill. They had been done to death and probably in an underhand fashion. The honours of martyrdom were accorded to them, an oratory was built over their grave in which services for pilgrims were held, and eventually its place was taken by the basilica of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

But there is more than this. After the church was built the approach to the house below was neglected, filled in and forgotten. A few years ago the German monks, to whose monastery the church is attached, rediscovered the staircase and by degrees reopened the house.

Decline of
morals.

Pagan
reaction.

HOUSE OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

Pagan frescoes, 2nd and 3rd c.	Crucifixion, &c.	7th c.
Christian „ 4th and 5th c.	Amphoræ, &c.	„

Two floors containing vaulted rooms, windows and doors, the apparatus of a bath room, a cellar with amphoræ impressed with Christian symbols, frescoes of the transition period showing human figures, birds and festoons, an Orante amidst goats and spirals, an oratory with the martyr scene, the crucifixion, the Saviour between angels (the three last of the pilgrim period)—all this has been reclaimed and added to Rome's monumental wonders.

Frescoes of
the 2nd, 3rd,
4th, 5th, and
7th centuries.

CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

Columns	Antique	Ext. decoration, apse	12th c.
Altar sarcophagus		doorway	„
Portico	12th c.	Campanile	„

This is one of the many churches in this part of Rome which owe their present design to a rebuilding after the terrible fire inflicted on the city by Robert Guiscard's Norman, Sicilian, and Saracen followers in 1086. Gregory VII, the famous Hildebrand, had recognised Guiscard's position in Sicily for the purpose of having some one to fall back on in his struggle with the emperor. The great humiliation of Canossa had taken place and Henry IV, having recovered his authority at home, was invading the unyielding pope in his own city. Gregory had taken refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo and was near the end of his resources when Guiscard arrived. The emperor's troops were attenuated by the long siege and retired without opposition. After the rescue of the pope Guiscard's troops resented some incivility on the part of the populace by setting fire to houses in various parts of the city with a terrible result.

The church was rebuilt in the following century and

The great
Norman fire,
11th c.

its portico is connected with the name of Hadrian IV (1154-9), the English pope. There is evidence of north-

Portico and
external
decoration
of apse,
12th c.

ern influence in several parts, from the lions under the columns of the main doorway to the effective arcade decoration outside the apse. These are Lombardic features of

common occurrence in the north on both sides of the Alps, but rare in Rome. A fragment of an ambon

Cosmati
doorway,
12th c.

inscribed with the name of Jacobus Cosmatius was found in the course of a recent restoration ; the frame of the entrance doorway is deco-

rated with this work and a considerable portion of their lovely pavement remains. The columns are from a

Columns and
bath, antique.

pagan building, as is the porphyry bath used as a sarcophagus for martyrs' relics under the altar. The campanile, founded on the ruins of the temple of Claudius, is of the twelfth

Campanile,
12th c.

century. The architects who designed these bell towers in this and the following century might have done something to redeem the poverty of Roman exteriors, had not their work been cut short by the Avignon rupture.

A Roman house of the imperial period, with pagan and Christian decorations of five centuries, the reaction

of paganism under Julian in the latter half of the fourth century, the conflict between

Hildebrand and Henry IV, and Guiscard's interference and consequent fire, in the eleventh century, the work of the English pope and his contemporaries the Cosmati family, and the promise of improvement in the external architecture as seen in the campanile, apse, and doorway in the twelfth century, are the main points of a visit to this church.

THE FIFTH CENTURY

THIS century saw the beginning of the barbarian invasions and the end of the western empire. The division into East and West had been made at the death of Theodosius (395), whose younger son, Honorius, became emperor of the West with Rome as his capital. Hearing of the approach of Alaric and his Goths, Honorius retired to Ravenna and left his commander Stilicho to deal with the enemy. Stilicho gained a victory, to which Honorius accorded a public triumph in Rome and took a prominent part in it himself, and then in a fit of jealousy caused the successful general to be put to death. Alaric

First capture
of Rome,
410 A.D.

and his Goths at once marched on the city and captured it (410). What had been done once might be done again. Attila, King of

the Huns, turned his eyes towards the city and what he imagined to be its unlimited treasure. This was a yellow race, which had dispossessed the Goths of their Dacian home on the north of the Danube, and cared for nothing but destruction and plunder. Attila first made

Moral
victory over
the Huns.

an inroad on Gaul, but was fortunately defeated at Chalons in 451 by a combined force of Romans and Goths. He then turned on Italy but was persuaded to go back by an embassy of which Pope Leo I (440-61) was the leader. The success of Leo was afterwards attributed to a miraculous apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul. Four years later,

Sack of
Rome by
the Vandals,
455 A.D.

while Leo was still pope, the Vandals, another Teutonic tribe, which had been driven from Spain by the Visigoths to the old Roman province of Carthage, sailed up the Tiber under their king Genseric and plundered the city without mercy (455). They made no distinction between churches and private houses as Alaric had done, and amongst other things carried off the Jewish spoils of Titus.

Rome now became the prey of wandering barbarian

armies, and in 476 Odoacer, the leader of one of them, persuaded the senate to seek reunion with Constantine under his rule as patrician. Thus Rome was once more a provincial city of the empire with a barbarian at its head. The western provinces were in the meantime being overrun by Teutonic tribes from the east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. The Franks occupied the north of Gaul and the two banks of the Rhine. The Burgundians were settled in the valley of the Rhone. The Visigoths were in southern Gaul and Spain, and the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons had taken possession of Britain. In Italy, France, and Spain the invaders met with Roman civilisation, organised government, churches and clergy, good roads and fine buildings. These things they respected and utilised and by degrees the settlers in these countries became a Latin-speaking Christian people. The invaders of Britain on the other hand entered it without previous knowledge of Roman civilisation or religion and made no terms with the inhabitants. There, as in Germany and Scandinavia, the new civilisation worked on virgin soil, a point to be considered when we come to the Reformation (p. 237).

End of
western and
reunion with
eastern em-
pire, 476 A.D.

Western
Europe
overrun by
Teutons.

ST. PAUL AND ROME

The personal connexion of St. Paul with Rome is based on undeniable historical evidence. We know from the Acts of the Apostles that he came as a prisoner, having exercised his right as a Roman citizen to appeal to Cæsar against a baseless accusation of the Jews. He had already made the acquaintance of many Roman Christians in Corinth and elsewhere and had written an epistle to them, in which he expressed his desire to visit the city and his hope that he would shortly be able to do so. The visit was accomplished under circumstances which he could not have anticipated.

First visit,
61 A.D.

The date of the epistle to the Romans is thought to be about 58 and his arrival in the city about 61. He remained two years awaiting his trial, a prisoner under ward, but living in his own hired house with permission to preach and to receive visitors. During

this time he wrote his epistles to the Galatians, Philippians, and Colossians, and at the close of it was acquitted at Cæsar's tribunal.

Leaves Rome,
63 A.D.

His life during the next three or four years is not recorded, but it is inferred from his writings that he journeyed to Spain and paid further visits to the churches he had

founded in Greece and Asia. He returned to Rome, possibly in connexion with the persecution of the Christians under Nero. To

Returns,
67 A.D.

this time belong his Epistle to Philemon and the second one to Timothy, in which he refers to a recent visit to Troas and to his impending martyrdom, for which he says that he was quite ready. He again mentions his companions by name, but not a word is said about St. Peter. There is no record of his death but tradition puts it in the year 67 or 68, when he was led out on the Ostian

Martyrdom,
67 or 68.

road to the spot now occupied by the monastery of the Tre Fontane and beheaded as a Roman citizen. His body was buried by a Christian named Lucina in her own ground, over which the basilica of St. Paul outside the walls now stands. The Emperor Constantine built a church over his grave, in connexion with which a stone of the fourth century has been found bearing the inscription in Latin 'To Paul apostle martyr.' The church of Constantine occupied the site and space of the present altar and transept. It was replaced by a magnificent church of the same design and size as the existing one at the end of the fourth and during the first half of the fifth century.

ST. PAUL OUTSIDE THE WALLS

Plan of building	4th c.	Paschal candlestick	12th c.
Mosaic of arch	5th c.	Altar tabernacle	13th c.
Mosaic of apse	13th c.	Cloisters	
Hildebrand's doors	11th c.	Wooden figure of the Baptist.	
Chapel frescoes	"	Papal portraits.	

The church which took the place of the smaller one built by Constantine was the work of the Emperor Theodosius (379-95), his son Honorius (395-425), who was the first emperor of the West, and his daughter Galla Placidia. The latter completed the work of her father and brother at the request of Leo the Great (440-61), as is recorded in Latin hexameters round the triumphal arch. Galla Placidia had married Ataulph, the successor of Alaric as king of the Goths, and at his death the Emperor Constantine III, by whom she was the mother of Valentinian III. The building of Theodosius and Honorius had been interrupted by the invasion of Alaric in 410, and it was the first church in Rome that was plundered by the Vandals in 455. They left their boats when they saw it from the Tiber before they reached the city walls. This exposure to a river-borne enemy brought the Saracens twice in the ninth century, after which John VIII (872-83) surrounded it with walls. The church of Theodosius and Galla Placidia survived these and later disasters, until it was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1823. With money from all parts of Christendom it was rebuilt on the old lines. The triumphal arch with the two magnificent granite columns brought by Galla Placidia from Baveno, the beautiful cloisters and Arnolfo di Cambio's no less beautiful tabernacle, the paschal candlestick, a few of the nave columns and of the papal portraits, and Hildebrand's bronze doors, were happily saved from the fire. The mosaic of the triumphal arch escaped with some damage, that of the apse with rather more. The papal portraits

Imperial
founders.

Leo the
Great.

Sacked by
the Vandals,
and by the
Saracens.

Saved from
the fire.

had fortunately been copied and could be renewed, and the rest of the church was reproduced as nearly as money, skill, and material could do it. The very perfection of modern work and the resplendent brilliance of the new material are its chief defects, as they raise a longing for the mellowness of the old time-honoured building and for the more human touch of the ruder work. They inevitably suggest the words 'faultily faultless, icily regular,' but we should convey an entirely wrong impression if we added 'splendidly null.'

This basilica and that of Sta Maria Maggiore enable us to realise better than any others the origin of the ground plan of a Christian church. In the days of persecution Christians met for worship in the larger houses. The space suitable for the purpose was the atrium, a rectangular court usually open to the sky with a colonnade on three sides. At one end was the tablinum, or reception room, before which was the domestic altar, and on either side other rooms. The bishop and clergy occupied the tablinum, the domestic altar was used for the Eucharist, the side rooms for tables of offerings, the space in front of the altar for the choir, as in the schola cantorum of S. Clemente, and the congregation sat in the colonnades or side aisles. When the atrium was covered for protection against weather the roof was supported on walls raised above the colonnades, which were pierced with windows for light as in the clerestory of our churches. Anyone standing in the atrium of the house of the Vestal Virgins in the Forum can easily imagine himself in St. Paul's or Sta Maria Maggiore. The principal change made after churches were built was the introduction of the transepts. At Sta Maria Maggiore there is no transept, this being one of the arguments used by Dr. Richter in favour of his third-century theory. In St. Paul's there is a transept which communicates with the double aisles by low arches, a reminiscence of doorways to rooms. In the latest development the

Plan of
building,
4th c.

Origin of
the ground
plan of our
churches.

Transepts
a later
development.

arches are abolished and the transept arms are extended to form a Latin cross.

A first impression of the present building is the wealth of its stones and marbles; some of these belong to the earlier church, such as the two magnificent granite columns on either side of the triumphal arch brought by Galla Placidia from Lago Maggiore. This is the first recorded use of Alpine granite in Rome, this stone having been brought previously from the banks of the Nile. There are also some fluted pavonazetto columns in the apse which were saved from the fire. The alabaster used in the columns on either side of the main entrance and under the baldachino is from Egypt and is a stalagmite formation of pure carbonate of lime, a much harder material than the crystalline gypsum of modern commerce.

The colonnades support, it will be noticed, arches or archivolts, as they are called, and not architraves as in Sta Maria Maggiore. The latter was the Greek style and was used when the Roman architects were under the full spell of Greek influence, and is, therefore, another argument in support of the early date of that church. The papal portraits above them are thought to have been begun during the papacy of Laurentius, between the years 498 and 514, because his likeness is included, though he was considered in later years to have been an anti-pope. From that date they would be contemporary likenesses. The mosaic of the triumphal arch is the work, after many necessary restorations, of Galla Placidia and Leo the Great (440-61). The head of the Saviour has been given the ascetic expression of a later age, that of St. John's Lateran, and better still that of Sta Pudenziana, showing the early Roman type. In this instance the position of the fingers, constituting the Greek form of benediction, shows that the alteration was made by a Byzantine worker. The fact that St. Paul is on the right of the Saviour and St. Peter on His left, stamps the original design as Roman, and the sword in the hand of the

Mosaic of arch, 5th c.

former proves an alteration as late as the tenth century, when this was made his emblem in ecclesiastical art. The four-and-twenty elders with crowns in their hands are a further application of the apocalyptic vision in mosaic illustration.

The mosaic of the semidome of the apse, and those above it and opposite to it, are reconstructions of thirteenth-century work after the fire. The long centuries of decline and recovery come between it and that of the triumphal arch.

The gemmed thrones, the implements of the passion below the central figure, the archaic pose of the Virgin and Child, are the result of the ecclesiastical rule under which church decoration had passed during the interval. It is usually called Byzantine, because many of the designs and much of

the work came from Constantinople; but it was a distinct branch of church work and for many centuries was done by monks. In this instance the position of St. Paul on the right is in accordance with Roman and not with Byzantine art. The diminutive figure of Honorius III (1216-26), the donor, should be noticed.

There was an earlier pope, who had left his mark on St. Paul's, no less a man than the great Hildebrand himself, but it was before he was raised to the chair as Gregory VII (1073-87). During the time that he was procuring the election to the papacy of men who favoured his policy, he was prior of the monastery attached to this church. It had been placed under Odo of Cluny in 947, and the Clunian monks, of whom Hildebrand was one, had done great service in Rome as elsewhere. In the Capella di Martinilugio, now a passage from the right transept to the cloisters, there are specimens of their artistic handiwork of Hildebrand's date, the eleventh century. We must not criticise frescoes of this period by too high a standard. They are stiff, crude, and perhaps ugly, but there is individuality and reverential feeling. But what gives them an

Mosaic of apse, 13th c.

Byzantine influence.

Hildebrand at St. Paul's.

Frescoes of 11th c.

especial importance is this, that they represent a period in art which is almost blank. They are two centuries earlier than Giotto and they stand at the very beginning of the new dawn. They are the first streaks of the Renaissance and, therefore, of the art of our own day.

Near this passage is the baptistery, a Romanesque building of rare occurrence in Hellenised Rome, with rough columns bearing pulvins on their capitals, that is, additional stones to bear the thick walls. This was a device invented by masons who were accustomed to use ready-made capitals from pagan buildings, which they found too tender at the corners for their rough masonry. The sacristy, which is beyond, contains the remains of the richly chased bronze doors obtained by Hildebrand from Constantinople in 1070. They are badly damaged, but are very valuable as (1) specimens of eleventh-century art, (2) proofs of Byzantine supremacy in artistic matters throughout the dark ages, and (3) mementoes of the connexion between St. Paul's and the great Cluniac pope.

To the right of the high altar is a marble paschal candlestick of the middle of the twelfth century, signed by Nicolas, son of Angelo, and Peter Vassalectus. The latter was the father of the cloister architect. All through the Middle Ages there was a hunger for metal that could be used in the manufacture of weapons, armour, and other articles of daily need. Antique bronzes and church furniture were of equal value in the melting-pot. Marble had consequently to be used for articles which before and since have been made of metal. This candlestick, which differs from the spiral Cosmati design, was executed by Roman sculptors fifty years before Niccolò Pisano was born, and deserves a distinct place in the pioneer work of the Renaissance. The sculptors were men familiar with the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, but they had not yet mastered the technique of design or execution. They aimed high and worked with good humour.

Hildebrand's
doors,
11th c.

Paschal
candlestick,
12th c.

The tabernacle over the high altar carries us across the interval between experiment and accomplishment.

Arnolfo di Cambio (1232-1310), the architect of the cathedral of Florence, fellow-worker with Niccolò Pisano in the Siena pulpit, was in Rome about 1276. He was no pioneer, but a master of his art, as this specimen of it testifies. Without interfering with the purity of the Gothic design he has added the classic grace of his figures in the round and in relief, and a most delicate mixture of Roman mosaic colour. The tabernacle is an artistic gem which should be dwelt on in detail and as a whole, until an indelible mental impression has been obtained. It has not been fairly treated by the architect of the rebuilding, who has surrounded it with panels of lapis lazuli and malachite, and dwarfed it with a huge baldachino which threatens to crush it. But it holds its own in spite of all.

In the second chapel of the left transept is a venerable wooden figure of the Baptist, which bears the scars of time and of accident. In the small tabernacle on the altar of this chapel are some red cipollino colonnettes which are uncommon, and in the pillars of the altar rails panels of a gold breccia. Round the walls of the transept will be noticed panels of rosso antico, framed in a species of verde antico from Greece.

The cloisters, of two dates between 1200 and 1230, are almost equal to, and in their most finished part evidently by the same hand as, those of St. John's Lateran. The description of those applies in almost every detail to these. The passages contain the usual fragments of sculpture, inscriptions, altars, urns, &c., which would afford many hours of pleasant study to those who understand such things. A large classical sarcophagus with an inscription relating to Pierleone will remind the reader of Roman medieval history of a financial magnate of Jewish descent, who founded an influential family and was mixed up in partisan papal elections. The family

Altar
tabernacle,
13th c.

Wooden
figure of
the Baptist.

Cloisters,
13th c.

contributed an anti-pope under the title of Anacletus II during the papacy of Innocent II. There is a battered figure of Boniface IX (1390-1404) near the entrance.

We will take leave of this great church under the recollection that as St. John's Lateran was under the protection of the king of France, 'the eldest son of the Church,' so was St. Paul's under that of the king of England until the connexion was broken at the Reformation. The royal arms of England may still be seen on the walls of the monastery, awaiting the long-hoped-for day when the pope shall receive his own again.

The splendid work done by the great apostle of the Gentiles scarcely received the recognition which was its due in the capital of Christendom. The Revision. honour paid for a special reason to his brother apostle, St. Peter, overshadowed it. But the reputation of St. Paul is capable of taking care of itself.

The invasions of the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians were naturally regarded as unmitigated disasters when they took place. From our point of view they were the introduction into a decadent Roman world of one of the main factors of its salvation—the forerunners of the Teutonic element in western civilisation. The Huns and Saracens, on the other hand, were dangerous enemies, who would have destroyed our religion and orientalised our civilisation had they been victorious.

The church is full of interest, historic and artistic. Great rulers like Theodosius and Galla Placidia, great popes like Leo I and Gregory VII, great artists like Arnolfo di Cambio and Vassalectus have left their impress on it. It has been plundered by Vandals and Saracens and has risen to its ancient splendour after destruction by fire. It still possesses mosaic work of the fifth and of the thirteenth centuries, and, what is almost unique, frescoes of the eleventh. Its paschal candlestick is an original twelfth-century work of merit, its altar tabernacle a gem of the best period of art, and its cloisters almost equal to those of St. John's Lateran.

Modern art has excelled itself in reproducing the ancient design in the most magnificent material ever put into a building.

STA SABINA

Columns	antique	Fragments of balustrade	9th c.
Pietra nephritica		" screen	
Carved panels	5th c.	Aumbry	13th c.
Mosaic	"	Slab tombs	
Opus sectile	"	Tomb	15th c.

This church (Plan viii. 2) on the Aventine was built between the years 423 and 432, between the invasions of Alaric and Genseric. The city had received its first great shock, but did not yet know the worst terrors of invasion. The Vandals had

not been in her streets. A mosaic inscription on the inner wall attributes the building to an Illyrian priest named Peter, but the design is Roman. Galla Placidia, who had just become a widow a second time by the death of her husband Constantine III, was in the city with her child, the young emperor Valentinian III. She probably brought her Ravenna architects with her. But to what country the carver of Sta Sabina's wonderful doors belonged, Rome, Illyria, Ravenna or elsewhere, remains a secret. They are fifth-century work, contemporary with the building of the church, and are

unique in existing art. The carved panels, representing a series of Bible scenes from the Old and New Testaments, probably copies from an illustrated Bible, are of cedar wood and are inclosed in borders of a later date. The panels do not occupy in every case their original positions, and some of them are renewals by a later hand. The first scene, representing the crucifixion, is the earliest attempt to illustrate this subject known to art. It is treated symbolically, the central figure being on a larger scale than the others and the bodies nailed on blocks against a wall to show that it was outside the city. The resurrection, visit of the magi,

Building
of the
5th c.

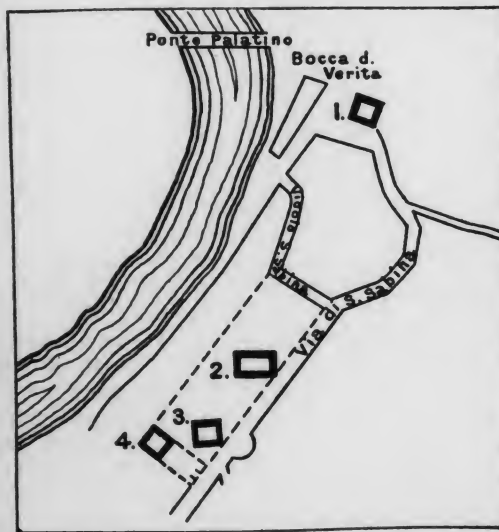
Carved
panels,
5th c.

The earliest
representa-
tion of the
crucifixion.

and transfiguration, complete the top line. In the first panel of the second row are the miracles of (1) the healing of the blind man, (2) the multiplication of the loaves, (3) the turning water into wine. Four miracles of Moses are treated in a similar way on the second panel: (1) the tree of Marah, (2) and (3) the quail and manna, (4) the striking of the rock. The third and fourth panels are evidently by a later and

Subjects of
the panels.

PLAN VIII.—AVENTINE CHURCHES



1. Sta Maria in Cosmedin
2. Sta Sabina

3. S. Alessio
4. Sta Maria del Priorato

more skilful hand, probably renewals after damage: (1) the agony in the garden, (2) the adoration of Christ. In the third row are the appearances, (1) to the disciples, (2) to the Maries, (3) the denial of Peter, (4) Habakkuk and Daniel. In the fourth row are three scenes from the life of Moses: (1) his call, (2) the burning bush,

(3) tending sheep, followed by (1) the annunciation to Zacharias, and (2) the astonished bystanders; then (1) the crossing of the Red Sea, (2) rods turned into serpents; then the ascension of Elijah. In the last row, (1) Pilate washing his hands, (2) Christ before the judge. The doors, which are fitted in a thirteenth-century Renaissance doorway, are of supreme archaeological and artistic value as fifth-century examples of wood-carving and on account of their extreme rarity. The mosaic on the inner wall above the door is also of the early fifth century and thirty years later than that at Sta Pudenziana. It is a fragment of an extensive work which covered apse and arch and possibly all this wall. The figures, classic and not Byzantine, are named 'The Church of the Jews' and 'The Church of the Gentiles,' giving a key to similar figures elsewhere. In Sta Pudenziana these figures crown St. Peter and St. Paul, the apostles of the Jews and Gentiles respectively, and, as the Romans were Gentiles, help to explain the position of honour given to St. Paul in early Roman art. The later papal policy brought with it new ideas on this subject.

Mosaic,
5th c.

Columns,
antique.

Opus sectile,
5th c.

Ponderarium,
antique.

The fluted columns of Hymettian marble with their Corinthian capitals are all of one size and from a single temple, probably a building ruined in Alaric's invasion. They support an arch-volt in Roman fashion, and a part of the old classical opus sectile decoration remains above them. This is an interesting link with the past and helps us to understand the love of coloured marbles and colour combined with sculpture, which became a distinctive feature in later Roman work. At the main door there are four spiral columns of Phrygian pavonazzetto, and on a small column in the nave a sphere of serpentine known as nephritica bruna or dark kidney stone. This was formed in the rocky bed of a river and was used by the Romans, with the addition of a little lead, as a standard weight. Some were found at the bottom of wells and,

rightly or wrongly, associated with martyrdoms. It was consequently called the martyrs' stone and given an honoured position in churches. The open timber roof, though wanting in colour, is in its original form,

Marble fragments,
9th c.

and at the end of the left aisle are fragments of (1) a balustrade, (2) a choir screen of the ninth century. These were found in the pavement face downwards and are good specimens of the art of the dark ages, when everything was done in monasteries. Probably the original balustrade and screen were of metal and had to be replaced when the church was restored by Eugenius II (824). Metal was so valuable in war that no church could protect it. Another restoration under Gregory IX (1227) will date the door frame, and a still later one under the active but too utilitarian Sixtus V, at the end of the sixteenth century, will account for more modern innovations. There are several pavement tombs of the thirteenth

Slab tomb,
13th c.

century, one of which, a mosaic effigy with Cosmati decoration of Munio da Zamora, general of the Dominican Order under Boniface VIII (1300), is especially noteworthy. The church and monastery were conferred on St. Dominic himself by Honorius III (1216-27), and the room which he occupied, as well as that of the Dominican Pope Pius V

(1565-72), is shown to visitors. There is a small aumbry of Cosmati work in the tribune

Aumbry,
13th c.

and modern copies of a paschal candlestick and ciborium of the Roman school. The tomb of a cardinal in the right aisle, dated 1483, is of Florentine design, showing more sculpture and less colour than Romans would have used. The bodies of SS. Sabina and Seraphia, mistress and slave, martyred in the days of Hadrian, are united in honour under the altar. The old portico of the church is partly incorporated in the monastic buildings, and through a window an orange tree of insignificant dimensions is claimed as of St. Dominic's planting, making it seven centuries old.

St. Dominic, who was a Spaniard, was the founder of

the order called by his name in the early part of the thirteenth century. He was contemporary with St.

St. Francis, and the two new orders received

St. Dominic. papal recognition about the same time. The original purpose of the Dominican Order was to meet error by instruction and to overcome heresy by truth. It was a direct protest against the cruelties of the crusade against the Albigenses. The reputation of the order has suffered severely in the judgment of mankind through the excesses of the Inquisition, of which it was the main supporter; but this was subsequent to the founder's death.

Pagan Rome is represented by the columns and standard weight, and its methods of decoration by the

Revision. opus sectile on the colonnade. The doors

are unique specimens of early Christian wood-carving of the same date as the mosaic on the inner wall. The fragments of monastic stonework speak of the dark centuries, when all work of this kind was done in the cloisters, and the aumbry slab and monumental tombs are evidences of the revival and development of art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The connexion with St. Dominic is a link with a movement within the church to stem the falling away from its teaching, which eventuated in the Reformation.

S. ALESSIO

Campasile	12th c.	Tomb in pillar	15th c.
Cosmati columns	13th c.	" " pavement	"
Pavement	"	"	"

While visiting the Aventine the opportunity should be taken of seeing two churches a little beyond Sta Sabina—S. Alessio (Plan viii. 3) and Sta Maria in Aventino or del Priorato (Plan viii. 4). The story of St. Alexis is told in the lower church of S. Clemente, but it contains little of interest to the modern mind beyond the fact that he was the patron saint of beggars. It is to be hoped that his duties will reach vanishing

point as rapidly as possible. This church appears to have been built on his father's house in the fourth century, and some excavations have been made in search of the underground structure. But its present interest is

Cosmati work, 13th c. in the Cosmati columns of the episcopal chair, the Cosmati pavement of the sanctuary, the Gothic slab tomb of the fifteenth century

Tombs, 15th c. in the same part of the church, and another handsome effigy tomb of the same date, which has been let into a pillar near the entrance. There is also a cloister, bright with oranges in their season, in which is an epitaph of a member of the

Campanile, 12th c. Crescentius family, which took a prominent part in Roman affairs during the black days of the eleventh century. The twelfth-century campanile should also be noticed.

STA MARIA IN AVENTINO OR DEL PRIORATO

Fragments of marble 8th c. Tombs 14th-16th c.
Pagan sarcophagus antique

The view from the beautiful garden in which the church stands, extending over the Janiculan hill and Campagna beyond, is one of the most attractive in Rome. It was the site of the temple of the Bona Dea, and in the eleventh century of the palace of Alberic, the Senator of Rome. It was here that the monks of Cluny began the work which culminated in the papacy of Hildebrand, and it was in the monastery which occupied the site of Alberic's palace that Hildebrand began his life in Rome. In 1320 it was made a priory of the Knights of St. John, who still own it, and its tombs are for the most part those of members of the order. There are, however, two stone chests constructed of marbles of the seventh or eighth

Marble fragments, 8th c. century with peacocks and symbols of the evangelists in shallow relief, which probably formed part of the chancel enclosure of the early church.

They appear to have been put in their present form to hold the remains of former tombs. Grand Master

Tombs, 14th to 16th c. Carracciolo (*d.* 1395), Bartolomeo Carafa (1405), Sergio Seripandio (1465), and Bishop Spinelli, all of whom were connected with

the order, are buried in the church. The last occupies a pagan sarcophagus with figures of Athena and the

Sarcophagus, antique. Muses. The reception rooms of the knights are furnished with portraits, coats-of-arms, pictures, &c., connected with the past history of the knights. The order was founded

Knights of St. John. in the early years of the eleventh century for the purpose of looking after poor and infirm pilgrims to the Holy Land. During the Crusades it was turned into a military body and recruited from the higher ranks of society. In 1310 the knights captured Rhodes, where they performed a most useful work for two centuries in checking the advance of the

Turks. In 1522 the garrison of 4500, after a splendid defence for six months, was obliged to yield to two hundred thousand Turkish invaders. The Emperor Charles V, as a token of his appreciation, conferred on the order the island of Malta, which they held until it was captured by Napoleon in 1798. The order was then dissolved, but has been renewed in modern days in various countries in connexion with ambulance and similar work.

S. STEFANO ROTONDO

Rotunda 5th c. Mosaic 7th c.
Columns antique Tomb 16th c.

This church (Plan xi. 3), of unusual design, is a fitting memorial of the desolate condition of Rome in the last half of the fifth century. The invasion of Alaric, the scare of Attila, and the ruinous sack of the Vandals, depopulated the city of its wealthy inhabitants and its best artists. It was the first new building after

the last of these disasters, the work of Pope Simplicius about 470, and probably the design of a Byzantine architect. Constantine had adopted the circular plan for baptisteries and tombs, but its original home was the East, whence it was introduced with the dome by the architect of the Pantheon. In its present bare condition the church is not attractive, but we can imagine that its original concentric colonnades, its open cupola, and the brilliant mosaics on its walls, produced a striking effect. It was approached by a portico, afterwards transformed into a chapel, and on the opposite side there seems to have been some corresponding architectural feature. The columns at these points are higher, and the fluted marble columns in the middle of the sides indicate something similar there. It will be noticed that stone slabs, or pulvinars, between the capitals and supported walls are used, a frequent device in Byzantine work.

In the middle of the seventh century Pope Theodore (642-9), a representative of the period of Greek supremacy, translated to this church the bodies of two martyrs, St. Primus and St. Felicianus, the first recorded instance of such a removal. To make a fitting shrine for their reception he converted the portico into a chapel and decorated it with mosaics. The semidome of the apse still retains a fragment injured by the damp. From the celestial arch the hand of the Eternal Father extends over the half figure of the Saviour, from whom descends a jewelled cross planted in a mystic garden, and on either side stand the two saints. The antique granite and fluted marble columns of various styles were rescued with and without their capitals from pagan buildings devastated by the barbarians. The bold, rough, composite capitals of the handsome monoliths before the chapel are remarkable.

The harmony of the design was broken by Hadrian I (772-95), who built the obtrusive transverse wall to

Rotunda,
5th c.

Columns,
antique.

Mosaic, 7th c.

support a flat ceiling, and still more, in the fifteenth century, by Nicholas V, who demolished the outer aisle and filled in the columns of the inner. Better things might have been expected of the founder of the Vatican library and the first great restorer of the city. On the floor near the middle of the church is a well-preserved slab effigy of the sixteenth century, and near the door a remnant of an episcopal chair associated with Gregory the Great. The walls of the Rotunda are covered with realistic martyr scenes by Pomarancio and Mattei of Siena, a poor portico replaces that taken for the martyrs' chapel, and an apology for an atrium recalls the more spacious approach of the original church.

The downward course of civilisation after the barbarian invasions is emphasised by every feature of this building. It is important to remember that the detrimental influences were not only from without, but that these conquering hosts settled and became leaders in the land. New tribes from the forests took the places vacated by the emigrants, and then followed them into the more cultivated countries. The Normans and Danes did not begin to give trouble before the ninth century, and permanent order was impossible until the source of supply failed. This was the cause of the continuous state of confusion between the fifth and the tenth centuries.

Altered in the
8th c. and in
the 15th c.

Effigy, 16th c.

Revision.

THE SIXTH CENTURY

In the closing years of the fifth century, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths (493-526), acting under the commission of the Roman emperor at Constantinople, took Italy by force from Odoacer. He had been educated at the Byzantine court and had been taught the Arian form of Christianity. He was far the ablest of the barbarian rulers, and during his reign of thirty-three years it seemed as if the transition

Theodoric,
493-526.

from paganism to Christian civilisation would be no difficult matter. But the extent of the barbarian immigration was not yet known. Clovis, the king of the

Rise of
the Franks.

Salian Franks, whose sister married Theodoric, had established himself in northern Gaul and embraced orthodox Christianity. This gave him an enormous influence in the Romanised districts, and enabled him to drive the West Goths farther south and to add Burgundy to his kingdom. From this time began the French predominance, the Gothic decline, and the collapse of Arianism in the West.

After the death of Theodoric (526), Justinian (527-565), one of the greatest of the Roman emperors, sent

Belisarius,
534.

Belisarius to recover direct imperial control over the provinces of North Africa and Italy. With a most inadequate force Belisarius defeated the Vandals in Carthage (534) and seized Rome during the absence of the main Gothic army.

The unfortunate city was again subjected to a long siege, during which the Goths cut its aqueducts, but finally they were obliged to retreat to Ravenna utterly worn out. Belisarius took the aggressive, captured Ravenna, and established imperial officials there under the name of Exarchs.

A few years later a new batch of barbarian invaders reached Italy. The Lombards, another Teutonic tribe of Arian Christianity, seized Pavia (568) and spread themselves rapidly over the whole country, leaving only the exarchate of Ravenna and Rome itself to the empire. The city, which had become almost depopulated in its late misfortunes, was reinforced by Greeks, who, under the favour of the exarchs, filled every position from the papacy downwards.

With its centre crippled, the Christian Church made little advance until the monastic system, which had been organised by St. Benedict (530), had established throughout Christendom a network of progressive influence. The monasteries outlived their period of usefulness and consequently

St. Benedict,
530.

gained an evil reputation, but it would be difficult to over-estimate the good work they performed during the dark ages. They monopolised the careers of lawyers, doctors, scribes, accountants, architects, sculptors, and painters, were a constant and ubiquitous object-lesson of peaceful labour in the country districts, gave hospitality to strangers and alms to the poor, and, as far as in them lay, checked the tyranny of might over right. At the close of the century one of their body who had given up position and property to found a monastery in Rome, was elected to the papal chair as Gregory I (590-604). He is justly known in history as Gregory the Great, a title which has been accorded to only two of the two hundred and sixty popes.

Gregory
the Great,
590-604.

SS. COSMA E DAMIANO

Body of the church
Circular vestibule
Mosaics

2nd c.
4th c.
6th c.

Crucifixion
Martyrs' stones
Early Byzantine.
antique.

This church marks an entirely new departure in the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities towards the pagan buildings. For a long time after Constantine the temples and other buildings of pagan Rome were scrupulously respected by the Christian population. Christianity was imperially recognised in 313, but pagan worship continued during most of the century. It was not until after Alaric's invasion in 410 that its prohibition was enforced. Then the columns and other materials from the temples, devastated by Alaric and much more by the Vandals and later barbarians, were used in the erection and restoration of Christian churches, but the temples not in ruins were left intact. This line of separation between pagan and Christian Rome was facilitated by the fact that so many of the important churches were outside the walls. The old Roman law had strictly enforced burial beyond the city bounds,

and Christian sentiment had caused churches to be built over the martyrs' graves. However great may have been the inconvenience and waste of power caused by the inaccessibility of many of these shrines, it was largely owing to it that the Forum and its surroundings were not completely destroyed by medieval buildings. When Theodoric was king of Italy (493-526) under the Roman emperor he had ruled as the successor of the Cæsars. The royal palace was once more on the Palatine, where bricks stamped with Theodoric's name may still be seen. His example was followed by the exarchs, who when in Rome lived on the Palatine, and by some of the Greek popes who were closely connected with the exarchs. This accounts for the churches

Greek churches near the Palatine.

with Greek dedications near the Forum and Palatine, Sta Maria in Cosmedin, S. Teodoro, S. Giorgio in Velabro, Sta Anastasia, SS. Cosma e Damiano, and for the conversion of pagan temples into Christian churches in this locality. The first of these was the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, formed from two pagan buildings, the temple of Peace and the temple of young Romulus. It was the work of Felix IV (526-30), a Greek pope who was elected in the year of Theodoric's death. The apse still retains the original mosaic of that time, and though it has suffered by restoration, is an interesting example of sixth-century art in Rome. It is

Mosaic, 6th c.

of a transition type, being neither Roman nor Byzantine; it has been suggested that its style and vigour show barbarian influence. In the last chapel to the right there is a crucifixion of very distinct Byzantine art. In the wall between the two churches will be noticed two of the martyrs' stones which we have already seen in the church of Sta Sabina.

There is another matter of interest illustrated by this church. The barbarian invasions, destructions of buildings by fire and the general effect of time, produced such an accumulation of material that the floors of

these old buildings had to be raised to meet the street level. This was done in the seventeenth century by Urban VIII, whose Barberini 'bees' mark his handiwork. The raised floor has damaged the proportions of the buildings, which is especially noticeable in the round temple of Romulus, and has brought the mosaics of the apse too near the eye.

S. ADRIANO

This is another of the pagan buildings of the Forum turned by the Greek popes during the period of their supremacy into a Christian church, but in this instance it was not a temple that was utilised but the

Curia made into a church, famous senate house of imperial Rome. 6th or 7th c.

Since the days of Tullus Hostilius, one of the Etruscan kings, the Roman Curia had stood on this site. It had been burnt down in the Clodian riots and rebuilt by Julius Cæsar, and had been restored more than once after the days of the great dictator. For more than a thousand years it had been the political centre of Rome and for the greater part of them of the world. Within its walls decisions had been made which affected the lives of nations, and the voices of most of the Romans, whose names are household words amongst us, have been heard there—the Gracchi, the Scipios, Cicero, Cæsar, and all the emperors. There the election to the imperial position was made, when the soldiers did not anticipate it, and there the decree was passed in 476 that the western empire should cease. When the building was abandoned for senatorial purposes is not recorded. It was probably damaged in one of the invasions, when

Bronze doors taken to the Lateran.

Made a diaconal church in the 8th c.

its bronze doors were carried off to the Lateran. They still fill the main entrance to the basilica of St. John. In the sixth or seventh century the building was converted into the church of S. Adriano, and the present bronze doors of a less artistic pattern took the place of the old

ones. Hadrian I (772-95), who was a great builder, restorer, and organiser, doubled the number of diaconates to meet the increased needs of the poorer citizens, and placed S. Adriano amongst them.

In the seventeenth century the building underwent great alterations, the floor being raised and the church modernised. The bodies of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, which had been brought to its altar from the little church dedicated in their name near the baths of Caracalla, were at this time restored. There are no monuments or works of art of importance in the church, but the building itself is a memorial of unsurpassed interest.

STA MARTINA

The Via Bonella separates the church of S. Adriano from that of Sta Martina. The latter building was the secretarium of the old senate house, in which were the committee rooms, offices, &c., of the senators, and the portion of street now between them was an enclosed space surrounded by colonnades. The secretarium was made into a church about the same time as the senate house, and the body of Sta Martina was placed under its altar. When Urban VIII (1623-44) made his alterations for the purpose of bringing the floor to the level of the street, he converted the lower part into a martyrs' chapel in which were placed the remains of four Roman saints—SS. Dorothea, Euphemia, Sabina, and Theodora. Sta Martina occupies the place of honour, her sarcophagus being under an elaborate bronze altar with a handsome reliquary adorned with alabaster reliefs. There is an old episcopal chair behind the altar, and in one of the vestibules is a curious Latin inscription which attributes the design of the Colosseum to a Christian architect. The upper church is used by the Guild of St. Luke, and contains casts of modern sculpture, and a painfully realistic figure of the martyred patron saint under the altar.

Secretarium converted into a church, 6th or 7th c.

Relics of martyrs.

S. LORENZO OUTSIDE THE WALLS

First church	4th c.	Enlarged church	13th c.
Second church	5th c.	Pavement	"
Raised sanctuary	6th c.	Paschal candlestick	"
Gallery	"	Frescoes	"
Mosaic	"	Fieschi tomb	"
Ambones	6th and 13th c.'s	Cloisters	12th c.
Screen	" " "	Campanile	"
Episcopal chair	" " "	Portico	13th c.
Altar canopy	" " 12th c.		

The present building is of four periods, the fourth, fifth, sixth, and thirteenth centuries, and is a combination of three or four churches. The mosaic on the sanctuary side of the triumphal arch is of the sixth century, and for that reason the church is chosen as a memorial of that time.

The original church was built by Constantine over the grave of the martyred St. Lawrence. During a violent persecution in 258, under the Emperor Valerian, Pope Sixtus II (257-8) was murdered in the catacomb of St. Callixtus, and the property of the church was for the first time confiscated. St. Lawrence being the chief deacon, and therefore the principal surviving official, was called upon to produce the church treasure. The story is that he exasperated the imperial officers by bringing to them a number of the halt and maimed as the only jewels the church possessed. His martyrdom under circumstances of diabolical malignity created an indelible impression on the mind of the Church. A soldier named Hippolytus, who witnessed the courage of the saint, is said to have thrown in his lot with him.

Constantine's church was built with its altar immediately over the martyr's grave. The sentiment of the day would not suffer the body to be touched or the sarcophagus to be hidden. The floor of the church had, therefore, as in the case of St. Agnes, to be lower than the surface, and for some reason the entrance was made at the end farthest from the road. This early building is represented by the

Constantine's church, 4th c.

present sanctuary, and its portico by the mausoleum of Pius IX, which is behind it.

In the fifth century, owing to damages caused by invasions and floods, its restoration was undertaken by Sixtus III (432-40). He is said to have also built a second church with its apse abutting on that of the Constantinian church, and its entrance on the main road. Such a church was undoubtedly built about this time, and it extended to the point near the ambones where there is still a slight rise in the floor.

But a curious incident occurred in connexion with this church a few years after the time of Sixtus III which might explain the addition of the second building. The Empress Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian III (425-40), believed that she was troubled by an evil spirit, and was told by her advisers that the only cure was through the body of St. Stephen, which must be brought to Rome for the purpose. The body of the saint had already been moved from Jerusalem to Constantinople by mistake, and negotiations were initiated with the ecclesiastical authorities at the eastern capital to exchange the body of St. Stephen for that of St. Lawrence. The proposal was accepted, and a band of monks brought the body from Constantinople and were about to disinter that of St. Lawrence when they were all struck dead. The consequence was that Rome retained the bodies of the two deacons, which now occupy one sarcophagus under the altar of S. Lorenzo.

It seems probable that the second church was built to receive the new relic, and that the martyred deacons were under adjacent altars before the third alteration took place, which turned the two churches into one.

This story, which is depicted in fresco on the walls of the portico by a thirteenth-century artist, furnishes valuable evidence of the moral condition of society in the last half of the fifth century, and illustrates the point which we must always keep in mind—that civilisation,

Sixtus III's
church,
5th c.

Translation
of the body
of St. Stephen
to Rome.

between Constantine in the fourth century and the Ottos of the tenth century, was on the down grade. The continuous influx of vigorous barbarians, who overwhelmed society from the top downwards, checked every effort to rise. Almost everyone who held a position of authority, including the clergy and especially those of the higher ranks, were of the new blood, and it required six centuries to leaven the whole lump. The darkest period of all was the last half of the ninth century and the greater part of the tenth.

During the century which followed the translation of St. Stephen's body and the building of the second church, Rome experienced many vicissitudes. The Vandals were followed by other barbarians, and the western empire came to an end. Odoacer and Theodoric ruled in the name of the emperor, and after the death of the latter the city was occupied by the imperial troops under Belisarius. A siege of twelve months by the Goths followed before order was restored, and a

Byzantine rule was established under the exarchs of Ravenna. This lasted about a hundred and fifty years, during which many of the popes were Greeks, and Byzantine ideas in art prevailed. The church of S. Lorenzo, which had been exposed to continuous damage during the period of disturbance, was restored by Pelagius (570-98), to whom the mosaic of the early church is due. This was placed over the apse of the Constantinian church, and apparently during the time that the worshippers faced the altar in that direction. The Saviour is seated on a globe with St. Peter on the right and St. Paul on the left, which stamps it as a Byzantine and not a Roman design.

The two deacons, St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, balance each other in the composition, as do St. Hippolytus, the fellow-martyr of St. Lawrence, and Pope Pelagius, the donor. Below are the mystic cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, representing the Jews and Gentiles respectively. The early form of church

Exarchs of
Ravenna.

Mosaic of
6th c. :

of Byzantine
design.

window with discs of glass has been worked into the scheme of decoration and is to be seen again in the opposite wall.

Then came the alteration which converted the two churches into one by the removal of the two apses, the raising of the floor of the Constantinian church, and the building of the gallery. This work has been attributed to Pelagius also. But it is difficult to account for the position of the mosaic looking eastwards if this alteration was a part of the plan. The change seems to have been necessitated by water troubles, and was certainly made very clumsily. It was made by Byzantine architects

Gallery
built.

who introduced the gallery, and at a time when there was an abundance of excellent material. The beautiful pavonazetto columns, friezes and colonnettes of the gallery, are from some fine pagan temple or palace. The screen, episcopal chair, and ambo, probably belong to this date, and were altered and restored in the twelfth century. There is an alternative theory that the two churches were left standing back to back until the twelfth century, when the apses were removed and the floor raised. The pavonazetto columns and gallery were introduced in the Byzantine period, and the question is whether the clumsy use of these columns in the support of the present sanctuary floor is to be attributed to them or to the Roman architects of the next restoration.

Five centuries pass before the next important change in the structure is made. The connexion between Rome and Constantinople is severed owing to the iconoclastic policy of Leo the Isaurian (726). The Holy Roman Empire is brought into being by the union between Rome and the king of the Franks. Charlemagne's dynasty falls to pieces through the incompetence of his descendants. A long period of utter confusion follows, in which Hungarians and Slavs, Normans and Danes, feudal nobles and aspiring adventurers, play their several parts, and civilisation is apparently doomed. With the rise of the Saxon Ottos in the last half of the tenth

century order reappears, the Holy Roman Empire is renewed, German popes like Gregory V and the learned Sylvester II give new hopes, and at the close of the eleventh century Hildebrand, under the title of Gregory VII (1073-87), establishes the papal monarchy. The monasteries under the Cluniac reform, followed by that of the Cistercians, are active in good works, and lay artists, sculptors, and marble workers are called into existence by the demand for church restoration. The

Cloisters, cloisters of S. Lorenzo are of this date and, though somewhat heavy in style, show the experimental form, from which the perfect examples at St. John's Lateran and St. Paul's outside the walls were developed. The campanile was built at the same time, but for some unaccountable reason failed to inspire the Roman church architects after the return from Avignon. The canopy over the altar is one of the earliest efforts of the Roman lay sculptors. It is simple, chaste, and dignified, and bears the names of four sons of Magister Paulus with the date 1148. A few years later, just after the death of Innocent III (1198-1216), who carried the power of the papacy to the highest point it ever reached, the greatest change of all was made in the church of S. Lorenzo. Under Honorius III (1216-17), the donor of

the mosaic in the apse of St. Paul's, the church was enlarged to its present size, and the best artists in the city were employed in its decoration. It was extended westwards from the rise in the nave floor to its present boundary, the handsome portico was designed and decorated by Vassalectus, the builder of the Lateran cloisters. The mosaic design on the entablature will be recognised as his handiwork, but that of the façade has unfortunately needed restoration. The tout ensemble, however, is one of the many proofs that Rome possessed native architects of merit in the early part of the thirteenth century, and that it was the collapse of the papacy in the early years of the fourteenth that robbed her of her proper

Church
enlarged in
13th c.

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Church
enlarged in
13th c.

Campanile,
and Canopy,
all Roman
work.

position in the Renaissance. The floor of the nave and sanctuary is adorned with Cosmatesque pavement, the gift of Roman knights, who are represented on horseback in the middle of the nave. The ambones, episcopal chair, sanctuary screen and altar, were remodelled and decorated with mosaics and coloured stones in the style introduced by the Cosmas family, and a spiral paschal candlestick was added. The roof timbers and clerestory windows have been decorated in a less attractive fashion in modern days. A staircase leads to the floor of the original church, and on a marble sepulchral tablet against the wall the names of Marozia and Theodora, 'Senatresses,' and John, 'Consul and Duke,' will be recognised as those of three of the most infamous characters of the worst days of the tenth century.

The vestibule of Constantine's basilica has been appropriated for the burial-place of Pius IX and decorated in the brilliant manner of the Vatican mosaic factory. The workmanship is excellent, and the designs are beautiful, but the eye looks in vain for some restful spot, until it falls on the exquisitely veined pavonazzetto columns, which complete the Pelagian set.

Returning to the church we must notice the fine tomb of Cardinal dei Fieschi near the main door, another original design of the Roman sculptors of the thirteenth century. A pagan sarcophagus, decorated with a marriage scene—a little inappropriate for a celibate—holds the body, above which under a canopy is a fresco, depicting the presentation of the cardinal by St. Stephen and of his uncle, Innocent IV, by St. Lawrence to the Saviour. On the other side of the door are some retouched frescoes, of the same date, of scenes from the life of the patron saint. These, as well as the series on the walls of the portico, deserve close examination. They were painted more than fifty years before Giotto was born, and no one can say that they are utterly

Cosmati
pavement.

Mausoleum
of Pius IX.

Tomb of
Card. Fieschi,
13th c.

Frescoes,
13th c.

devoid of dramatic force or of tolerable draughtsmanship. Those on the outside of the church represent incidents from the lives of (1) St. Stephen, (2) St. Lawrence, (3) Pierre de Courtenay, (4) the Emperor Henry II.

The story of St. Stephen's connexion with this church has already been related and may be read in these frescoes: (1) St. Stephen is tried, (2) stoned, (3) buried. (1) His body is moved, (2) another is buried near him, (3) is moved again in mistake for the other, (4) and taken to Constantinople. (1) Roman messengers propose the exchange, (2) the body is exhumed, (4) brought to S. Lorenzo, (5) visited. (1) St. Lawrence's body is about to be taken, (3) the bearers are struck dead, (4) the tomb is closed. The story of St. Lawrence is next told: he (1) receives the treasure, (2) washes the feet of the poor, (3) heals Cyriaca, (4) distributes the treasure, (5) meets Pope Sixtus on his way to execution, (6) is taken with Hippolytus before the emperor, (7) gives sight to a blind prisoner, (8) is beaten, (9) baptises the jailor, (10) refuses to show the treasure, (11) is put to death, (12) buried.

An incident connected with the disgraceful fourth crusade, in which the Christian city of Constantinople was taken by the army sent to deliver Jerusalem from the infidels, is represented in the scene of Pierre de Courtenay receiving the sacrament after his coronation by Honorius III in this church as Latin King of Constantinople.

On the right wall the death of the Emperor Henry II (1002-24) is depicted, apparently for the purpose of calling attention to his gift of a gold cup to this church. (1) Devils hurry to his deathbed, (2) claim his soul, (3) scales are brought, (4) St. Lawrence brings the cup, which brings the scales down on the right side.

We have thus memorials (1) of Constantine, (2) of the barbarian invasions and consequent growth of superstition, (3) of the first connexion with Constantinople, and the Byzantine supremacy in the sixth to the eighth centuries, (4) of the papal monarchy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, (5)

Coronation of
Pierre de
Courtenay.

Revision.

of the rebirth of architecture and art, and the renewed activity of monks and laymen, in cloisters, campanile, canopy, tomb, pavement, marble decoration, and fresco, (6) of the great promise of Roman art before the days of Avignon.

GREGORY THE GREAT

The one place which more than any other in Rome should appeal to the English-speaking visitor is the Church of S. Gregorio (Plan xi. 6) on the Cælian. S. Gregorio. There is not much to attract the eye, but there is abundant food for reflection. Our little island in the northern seas received Christianity during the Roman occupation, and its soil was consecrated with the blood of native martyrs. The British Church sent episcopal representatives to the Council of Arles in the reign of Constantine. Our heathen forefathers from the mouth of the Elbe, however, would not make terms with the Britons, and deprived themselves of any advantages which a more sociable temper might have conferred. The Celts retaliated by sending them missionaries from Lindisfarne and Iona, but a power with greater resources behind it was needed for a thorough conversion. It came from Rome on the purely personal initiative of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604). This remarkable man was of a good Roman family, and followed his father on the governing body of his native city. But suddenly he gave up wealth and position to found a monastery on the site of his Cælian home, under the recently established Benedictine rule. While holding the position of abbot, Gregory noticed in the Roman Forum some fair-complexioned, blue-eyed children exposed for sale. This was nearly six centuries after the introduction of Christianity, but some of the best families in England and in the United States were slave-owners a very few generations ago. Abbot Gregory, hearing that they were Angles, said that they ought to be angels; that they were from Deira, that

British
bishops at
Arles,
321 A.D.

Gregory
the Great.

English slaves
sold in the
Forum,
6th c. A.D.

they should be delivered from the ire of God; that their king's name was Ælla, that they should sing alleluias. The good man determined that he would do his best to accomplish his witty aspirations by giving up his Roman work for that of a missionary to the English. But the ruling pope died suddenly of the plague, and Gregory, compelled against his will to take his place, had to send one of his monks, Augustine, instead. The conversion of the English to Christianity followed, and Pope Gregory by his able administration of the affairs of the Church at a critical time, by his diplomatic persuasion of the Lombards to abandon the invasion of Rome, and by his successful encouragement of their queen, Theodelinda, to bring them as a nation from Arianism to the orthodox faith, justly earned the title of Great.

Conversion
of the
English,

and of the
Lombards.

S. GREGORIO

Columns	antique	Monument
Pavement	13th c.	Chapel of St. Andrew
Cloister	"	" Sta Sylvia
Monument of Edward Carne	"	" Sta Barbara
Gregory's chamber		Frescoes

The church is of the ordinary seventeenth-century type with antique columns from an earlier building, approached by a flight of steps and through a cloister. To the left of the entrance is a sepulchral tablet in memory of Edward Carne, whose official representation of England at the Vatican was severed by the Reformation. There is some thirteenth-century pavement of the opus Alexandrinum kind, a small room described as Gregory's chamber at the end of the right aisle, and a modern monument to him in a corresponding chapel on the other side. On a plot of ground attached to the church and entered by the cloister is a block of buildings containing three chapels, of which the middle one, dedicated to St. Andrew, is said to occupy the site of Gregory's house and

Monument
of Edward
Carne.

Pavement.

Chapels of
St. Andrew,

monastery. The chapel to the right is dedicated to his mother, Sta Sylvia, to whom he owed much of his greatness, and on its walls, as on those of the other, are frescoes by Guido Reni and Domenichino. In the third chapel, dedicated to Sta Barbara, is a statue of the pope, said to have been begun by M. Angelo, a marble table at which the saint periodically fed twelve men, increased on one occasion to thirteen by the presence of an angel, and frescoes depicting the episode of the Forum, the mission and arrival of Augustine in England. The boundary of the garden is formed by a portion of the old Servian wall, which crossed the Cælian at this point and, though a thousand years earlier than the time of Gregory, has survived every material record of his life in his own home.

Gregory the Great represents the old civilisation under its Christian form working in the new world.

The Roman organisation remained, and there were many of his stamp and type, though perhaps not of his calibre, scattered throughout the provinces. Our own story illustrates the other side of the subject. The British Christians were driven into Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, and the heathen Angles, Saxons, and Jutes occupied the land. The missionaries had not only to deal with the people they found there, but with continuous streams of fresh arrivals during the next three or four centuries. And yet, if the English race has not been a failure in the world, it was worth while.

THE SEVENTH CENTURY

THE successful papacy of Gregory the Great, like the reign of Theodoric, was nullified by the incompetence of those who followed him, and by the immediate revival of the

forces of disorder as soon as a strong hand ceased to hold the reins. Rome was ruled throughout the seventh century by the exarchs of Ravenna for the emperor at Constantinople, and most of the popes were their Greek nominees. In the middle of the century the emperor, Constans II, issued an edict on the nature of Christ and deposed Pope Martin I (649-55) because he refused to accept it. He then came to Rome himself, asserted his authority, took part in church ceremonies, and returned to his capital laden with spoils. A few years earlier (622) an event had taken place in Arabia, of which Europe, and especially Constantinople, was soon to know the consequences.

Mahomet in that year made his flight from Mecca to Medina and inaugurated his new religion. The capital of the Roman Empire

on the shores of the Bosphorus soon found itself on the boundary line of its territory. Its provinces in Asia and Africa rapidly fell before the religion of the sword, and the principal rôle of the imperial city was to act as the bulwark of Europe against the advancing tide. It nobly held its own, in spite of the absence of assistance from the West, until its fall in 1453, when the Europeans were indifferent to the menace. In matters of art

Constantinople maintained its standard throughout the dark ages. There was much corruption, vice, and hypocrisy, much formality and officialdom in the Byzantine city, but it was not barbaric or rude like Western Europe. Whatever art existed anywhere in Europe at this time sprang from it or was connected with it. It must not be forgotten in forming a judgment of the history of these times that barbarian influence permeated every class in Western Europe. The standard of culture, of morality, of everyday life was enormously lowered, and men in every position were born and educated under this standard. The popes, bishops, priests, and monks were men of their time as much as those who were not ecclesiastics, and it is very rare in any age to find a body of men much

Exarchs of
Ravenna.

Sta Sylvia,
and Sta
Barbara.

Fragment of
Servian wall.

Mahometan-
ism founded,
622.

Byzantine
art.

above their contemporaries. A continuous stream of pilgrims from all parts visited the martyrs' graves in Rome, where a great trade sprang up in relics. The scandal became so acute that, after transferring quantities of bones to various city churches, the catacombs were closed.

Growth of
superstition.

STA AGNESE

Damasine inscription	4th c.	Gallery	7th c.
St. Agnes orante	"	Mosaic	"
Columns	antique		

A church was built over the grave of St. Agnes in the Constantinian period. Such reverence had they at that date for the martyrs' bodies, that nothing would induce them to move them. As in the case of St. Lawrence, the church was built below the level of the road that the martyr's tomb might be its altar. As it lay near the highway and outside the walls, it was exposed to the ill-treatment of invaders. It underwent restoration during the papacy of Symmachus (498-514), and on a more extensive scale at the hands of Honorius I (625-38). Whether the ground plan was altered on either of these occasions, and whether the existing columns belong to the first, second, or third church, it is impossible to say. They are from pagan buildings and, to judge by their varied material and form, probably from three different ones. This would indicate a general condition of devastation, which would accord with one of the later dates. The columns of the gallery seem to come from the same source as those below, and as this feature is Byzantine, it affords another argument in favour of the later dates. The mosaic in the apse is the work of Honorius I (625-38), who holds the model of the church on the right of the patron saint; but he has associated Pope Symmachus with the work by placing him on the left. This would suggest that Honorius did not wish

Constantine
church.

Restored in
5th and
7th c.'s

Mosaic of
7th c.

to take the whole credit to himself. The papal vestments of the seventh century are depicted in form and colour, and in one respect have a special interest in this church. The narrow band worn over the shoulders and meeting in front is the pallium, which is the symbol of delegated authority. The pope confers the pallium on some of his highest officials, such as archbishops, to whom he delegates a portion of his authority; the idea was suggested by the action of Elijah, who dropped his mantle on his successor. In this church on St. Agnes' day the lambs, from whose wool the pallia are woven, are publicly blessed, the ceremony being connected with St. Agnes, because her name is derived from Agnus, the Latin for lamb. The saint in the mosaic is beautifully dressed in jewelled robes with a crown on her head, in accordance with Byzantine ideas. The four columns nearest to the sanctuary are of porta santa marble of an unusually deep colour, and those next to them of fluted and moulded pavonazzetto. The smaller columns of the gallery have, in addition to their capitals, a second stone, which was frequently used in this way by Byzantine builders. The Roman capitals were made for an architrave, and when used for an archivolt, as in this case, there was a danger that the corners of the capital might give way; hence the adoption of the pulvinus. There is an episcopal chair of rude design in the middle of the sedilia of the presbyters, and a marble candlestick on the left of the altar. In other respects the decoration of the church, the altar and ciborium, the over-elaborate ceiling and the side chapels, are of the seventeenth century. On the walls of the staircase by which the church is approached there are many fragments of inscriptions and tombstones from the catacombs, two of which are of especial interest. Close to the door on the left is a stone carved in a metal pattern in very low relief with an Orante in the middle. This was found above the grave of St. Agnes, and is supposed by experts to

Byzantine
design.

Portrait of
the patron
saint.

be a portrait of the saint. Opposite to it is one of the inscriptions composed by Pope Damasus (366-84), and set up in the various cemeteries for the edification of pilgrims. They record the acts of each martyr, and are written in letters designed expressly for the purpose. St. Agnes, who was one of the most revered of the Roman martyrs, was a victim, like St. Lawrence, of the Valerian persecution (257). Her emblem in art is the lamb.

Damasine
inscription,
4th c.

STA COSTANZA

Building
Mosaics

4th c. Mosaic

8th c.

Close to the church of St. Agnes is the circular building, in which the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia, daughter of the Emperor Constantine, now in the Vatican sculpture gallery, was found. It is known as the church of Sta Costanza, but was probably built by Constantine as the mausoleum of his daughter. The circular form seemed to commend itself to the imperial architects for baptisteries and tombs.

Mausoleum of
Constantia,
4th c.

The memorial churches built by this emperor in Jerusalem were of this shape, and from them were derived (1) the mosque of Omar and (2) the round churches of the Knights Templar. This church of Sta Costanza retains much of its original work. It consists of a two-storied drum and cupola standing on a circular colonnade of double columns bound together by an architrave; outside the colonnade is a vaulted ambulatory enclosed by a heavy wall with niches; and outside this again was formerly a circular portico, which has disappeared. The interior of the drum and cupola has lost its mosaics, their place being taken by inferior frescoes, but the vault of the ambulatory retains the decoration of the time of Constantine. The design is such as might be looked for in a private house, a vine with birds and genii in its branches encircling a bust, while vineyard scenes occupy

Mosaic of
4th c.

the four corners; birds of bright plumage conventionally arranged with fruit and flowers surround a vase from which doves drink. It is purely decorative without any apparent allusion to religion or to death. In two of the niches, on the other hand, there are mosaics of an entirely different type and of inferior execution. The giving of the old law to Moses is paralleled by the giving of the new law to the Apostles. Their connexion with the Constantinian period has been claimed on the ground that the Eternal Father was more frequently represented at that time than later. They seem more like the workmanship of the eighth century, and possibly may have been reproductions of an earlier design. The church and ambulatory mosaic are really memorials of the early fourth century, the transition period between pagan and Christian Rome, but it is more convenient to visit them at the same time as St. Agnes.

The contrast between these two churches enables us to look over the interval. The mosaic of the earlier one is classical, that of the later ecclesiastical of the Byzantine type. Sta Costanza was built by classical architects; the builders of St. Agnes relied largely on ruined classical buildings for their material. Sta Costanza was contemporary with the foundation of Constantinople as the capital of the empire. Rome is still under the political control of the eastern city three centuries later.

Mosaics of
8th c.

Memorial of
the transition
period.

Revision.

S. GIORGIO IN VELABRO

Columns

Mosaic panel

Apse pavement

Altar canopy

antique

7th c.

"

12th c.

Apse fresco

Bell tower

Portico

13th c.

12th c.

"

This is another of the churches of the Greek period between Theodoric (493-526) and the iconoclastic rupture (717). The ecclesiastical centre of that time

was the Palatine rather than the Lateran or Vatican. It was a diaconate church, that is, a centre for distribution of poor relief, and was made titular by Gregory the Great (590-604). The last holder of the title was the English Cardinal Newman, whose portrait is in the sacristy, and its present abeyance may perhaps account for its coldness and general appearance of neglect. The columns and capitals are antique, the nave wide, the altar canopy interesting, and there seems no reason why the church should not be made attractive. The apse retains some of its mosaic wall panel and pavement of the seventh century, but has lost its mosaic. This was replaced at the close of the

Pietro
Cavallini,
Roman artist
of the 13th c.

thirteenth century by a fresco painted by Pietro Cavallini, the Roman associate of Giotto, whose artistic reputation has been rising of late years. It has been unfortunately damaged by restorers and is again under treatment, which, it is to be hoped, will bring back some of the master's work. The subject is the Saviour with St. George and the Madonna, St. Peter and St. Sebastian. The latter was associated with St. George in the dedication of the church during a restoration under Pope

Roman
canopy of
12th c.

Leo II (682-4). The altar canopy is of the design introduced by the Roman guild of lay sculptors in the twelfth century, and is an early example of lay work after the many centuries in which every kind of artistic work had been monastic. The tabernacle decoration of the confessio under the altar will

Cosmati work.

be recognised as of the Cosmati school of the same period. Within it is said to be the head of St. George presented by Pope Zacharias (741-52), the last of the Greek popes. In this particular instance of our own patron saint we may be permitted to express the hope that the Holy Father was for once

Campanile,
12th c.

fallible, and that St. George's mortal remains lie undisturbed wherever they were first buried. Externally the church possesses one of the twelfth-century Roman towers, though not quite so graceful

in proportion as usual. Unfortunately, the arch of the silversmiths was encroached upon in its erection, much to the damage of its appearance. The portico is an open one and dates, like the tower, from the twelfth-century rebuilding necessitated by the Norman fire.

English visitors will know that St. George was a young Cappadocian officer in the Roman army, who, like his confrère St. Sebastian, died for the faith during the Diocletian persecution. He is associated in legend and art with the rescue of a princess by slaying an all-devouring dragon. He became a popular saint amongst the Crusaders, who regarded him as the ideal protector of Christian knighthood and was introduced by Richard Cœur de Lion to the English, who made him their patron saint.

S. TEODORO

Mosaic

7th c. Circular building

antique

The round church, standing near the entrance to the Palatine, falls into the same category with S. Giorgio as belonging to the Greek period, and possibly into that of SS. Cosma e Damiano as a converted pagan building. It was also one of the churches made by Gregory the Great into a diaconate. The mosaic, which is almost the sole attraction it retains, dates from the papacy of Leo II (682-3), and shows Byzantine influence combined with Roman tradition. The face of the Saviour, probably a restoration, is almost classical; His position on the globe of the world, with gemmed cross in one hand and giving the blessing in Greek fashion with the other, is Byzantine. St. Paul, not yet with his sword, but holding a scroll, occupies the place of honour on the right of the Saviour always accorded to him in Roman art, but not in Byzantine. By his side is St. Cleonicus, and they are balanced by St. Peter with St. Theodore the patron saint. The latter was a soldier

Byzantine
period.

Mosaic,
7th c.

saint, like St. George and St. Sebastian, who suffered martyrdom in one of the last persecutions, and is usually accompanied in art by a dragon. This symbol of sin overcome by these brave martyrs gave rise to the fables of the dark ages which, pictorially treated, are of perennial interest.

These Greek churches will help us to remember the influence of Constantinople on Rome between the beginning of the sixth and the middle of the eighth centuries. During a considerable part of these two hundred and fifty years the Church was officered by Greeks, and the artists were Greeks, that is to say Byzantine art prevailed. At the same time, neither the Church nor art were completely Byzantinised. Gregory the Great was pope in the middle of this period, and the position of St. Paul in this mosaic at St. Theodore's indicates Roman control.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY

THE eighth century saw the Moorish occupation of Spain, the severance of Rome from Constantinople, the foundation of the temporal power, and the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire.

The Saracens, who had already captured the old Roman possessions in Asia, Egypt, and North Africa, defeated the Goths in Spain in 711. In a few years the greater part of the peninsula was under the Crescent, and the Christian remnant was established in the mountains, awaiting more favourable circumstances. The victorious Moors next aspired to the conquest of Europe, but met their master in the Frankish duke, Charles Martel, at Tours in 732. This victory ranks with those of Marathon in 490 B.C. and Chalons in 451 A.D. in its decisive results on the recurring attempts to orientalise the West.

Saracens in Europe, 8th c.

Defeated at Tours, 732.

Gregory II (715-31), inspired by the example of his great namesake, encouraged English missionaries to work amongst the unconverted tribes of Germany. The most famous of these was Boniface, who met with signal success on the east of the Rhine. He founded monasteries, built churches, and established bishoprics, the chief of which, Mainz, he held himself.

In 726 Christendom was dumbfounded by an edict, issued by the emperor, Leo the Isaurian (717-41), ordering all pictures and statues in churches to be destroyed. The Church had from the first relied on pictorial illustration for the instruction of those who could not read. The custom was without doubt abused by the superstitious, but the Western mind was not prepared to accept the Mahometan view of religious art. The arbitrary conduct of Leo was firmly opposed by Gregory II, who was supported by the Franks and the Lombards. The latter, however, endeavoured to profit by the quarrel, and first seized the land held by the exarchs of Ravenna and then threatened Rome.

The breach with the emperor and the menace of the Lombards turned the eyes of the popes northwards.

There was already a bond of union between Rome and the Frankish king Pepin, son of Charles Martel, who had obtained the papal sanction to set aside the *roi fainéant*, Chilperic, and had received the crown himself at the hands of Archbishop Boniface. This papal act established an important precedent. It was the new king's turn to help Rome. He took the exarchate of Ravenna from the Lombards and bestowed it on the pope, thereby establishing the temporal power in 754.

The Lombards, presuming on the Alpine barrier between themselves and the papal champion, again seized the Romagna. But a greater than Pepin was now on the Frankish throne. His son Charles, known

English missionaries in Germany.

The iconoclastic rupture, 726.

Rome turns from Constantinople to the Franks.

Foundation of the temporal power, 754.

to the world as Charlemagne, crossed the mountains took Pavia, was crowned king of the Lombards, and renewed the donation to the pope (774). Twenty-five years later Pope Leo III (795-816) appeared at the northern court of Charlemagne with an appeal for help against the turbulent nobles of Rome. The pope was sent back under Frankish escort, and in the following year (800) the great king followed.

Coronation
of Charle-
magne, 800.

STA MARIA ANTICA IN THE FORUM

To right of apse	Lowest layer, Madonna and Child .	c. 600
	Middle layer, Annunciation	c. 650
	Top layer, heads of saints	c. 700
In choir	Hezekiah's sickness	"
	David and Goliath	"
	Apostles' heads	"
	Simon of Cyrene	"
In left aisle,	Visit of Magi	"
	Christ and saints	"
	above, Old Testament scenes	c. 750
In "chapel,"	Sta Julietta and St. Quiricus	"
	Crucifixion, &c.	"
In atrium,	St. Agnes and St. Cecilia, &c.	"

Behind the temple of Augustus, close to the entrance of the Forum, was his library, in front of which Caligula built the atrium of his palace. These buildings were burnt down in the fire of Nero and rebuilt by Domitian, who turned the atrium into a court of Minerva, from which the new library opened. The latter was a central square, opening at the sides between columns, and at the ends between pillars, into the rooms where the scrolls were kept. The building was converted in the sixth or seventh century into a church dedicated to the Virgin, and during the Byzantine supremacy was the chapel of the exarchs, when in residence on the Palatine. The walls of the church were covered with frescoes between the years 600 and 845, when it was destroyed by the fall of buildings above it. The church now called Sta Francesca Romana, on the other side of the Forum, was built in its place, and became known as Sta Maria Nuova, the

Library of
Augustus,
made into a
church,
6th or 7th c.

buried church being henceforth called Sta Maria Antica. Unfortunately the frescoes have deteriorated rapidly since their exposure, and it is to be feared will soon disappear. The date and source of their execution give them a very special interest in the history of art, as work of this period is rare.

We enter the square court used as an atrium, and pass through the central door into the choir and sanctuary, which terminates in an apse; on either side are aisles terminating in chapels. Standing immediately in

Fragments
of frescoes
of three
periods on
superposed
layers of
stucco,
c. 600.

front of the apse we find, on the right, a number of confused figures; they are on three layers of stucco and represent frescoes of three periods of decoration. The oldest is the Madonna in jewelled crown with the Child holding a jewelled book, c. 600. Just above the Madonna is the face of the Virgin, opposite to the face of the angel in the annunciation scene of the second period, c. 650. The face of the angel in this fresco shows a power of draughtsmanship and modelling worthy of any period of art, and is quite remarkable for the seventh century. Amongst these figures will be seen the nimbed heads of saints of fifty years later, c. 700.

In the apse itself is a gigantic figure of the Saviour with attendant angels, and the dim outline of the Madonna on His right presenting a square-nimbed pope, that is a pope who was still living. On the left wall are some admirably executed heads of three apostles, St. Bartholomew, St. Andrew, and St. Paul, and, above the last two, scenes from the New Testament, (1) Simon of Cyrene carrying the cross, (2) the adoration of the magi. On the other side of the choir are two vivid Old Testament pictures, (1) Hezekiah being told by Isaiah of his approaching death, (2) David bestriding the fallen Goliath. The attitude of the king turning his face to the wall and of the attendant with the fan are Giottesque in dramatic force. There is nothing of interest in the chapel on the right, but that on the left contains the most perfect of the whole series. The chapel

appears to have been dedicated to a mother and son, Sta Julietta and St. Quiricus, who were martyred at

c. 750. Tarsus in Cilicia. The palm trees covered with fruit in the jambs of the door and of the apse strike the keynote. In the apse itself is a representation of the crucifixion, one of the earliest existing examples in pictorial art. The Saviour is clothed in a sleeveless garment, bearded and open-eyed, His feet separated and unsupported, the Madonna in blue hood and dress, St. John in classic toga with jewelled book. The soldier Longinus with the spear and the man with the sponge are less satisfactory in treatment. Below is a mutilated fresco, showing the Madonna on a throne with Sta Julietta and a pope on one side, and the boy St. Quiricus in orante attitude, with a nimbed priest holding the model of a church, on the other. An inscription, once legible, shows that the latter was Theodotus, the uncle of Pope Hadrian I (772-95). It is by similar inscriptions elsewhere that most of the frescoes have been dated. On the parts of the wall within the area marked by the wooden rail are scenes from the martyrdoms of the two saints, a father, mother and two children on either side of the Madonna, and on the end wall Theodotus with square blue nimbus at the feet of the martyrs; and on the other side of the door an old man with three women and the words, in Latin, 'whose names God knows.'

In the aisle below this chapel is a row of figures, the Saviour in the middle, with Greek and Latin Fathers on either side, their names inscribed in Greek characters.

Period subsequent to rapture with Constantinople, c. 750. Above are Old Testament pictures from Joseph's life, with Latin inscription, showing that they belong to the latest period of the church, after the cessation of the Greek rule.

In the atrium itself are one or two decipherable pictures, a large, bearded head of a Greek saint with three figures, including St. Antony Abbot, and near the door two figures inscribed in Greek letters, St. Agnes and St. Cecilia.

The impluvium or water tank of Caligula's atrium has been exposed, showing a different orientation; there are one or two sarcophagi, Christian and pagan; the base of an ambon, and some early mosaic pavement in the sanctuary—an early anticipation of the opus Alexandrinum of the twelfth century. In another building, a few yards from the church, are more Christian frescoes, rapidly disappearing, representing forty martyrs condemned to a slow death in ice-cold water; one only yielded, and he is depicted as climbing out of the water, while a soldier on guard takes his place.

We learn to appreciate the durability of mosaic decoration in a church like this, which underwent three renewals in a hundred and fifty years. The Revision. last of these must have been in process of execution during and after the rupture with Constantinople, which was caused by the order of the emperor to break all images and destroy religious pictures. Unfortunately much that has been recovered is destined to rapid extinction through re-exposure to light, but all are worth careful examination as specimens of the artistic work of the seventh and eighth centuries. It represents the last years of the Greek supremacy in Rome, and the eve of the new northern alliance, which was to culminate in the Holy Roman Empire.

STA MARIA IN COSMEDIN

Columns	antique	Screen	12th c.
Pierced windows	"	Ambones & enclosure	"
Bath under altar	"	Episcopal chair	"
Frescoes over apse	8th c.	Mosaic in sacristy	8th c.
" in apses	"	Propylon	"
Canopy over altar	13th c.	Portico (restored)	"
Pavement	12th c.	Belfry	12th c.

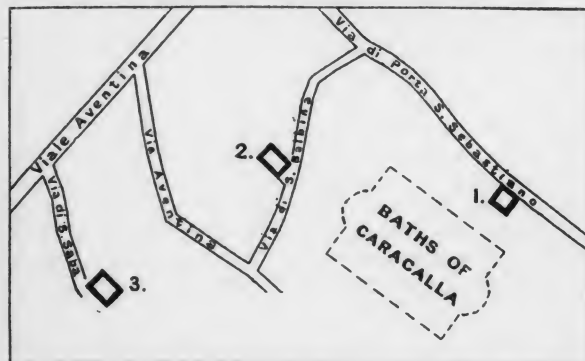
The name itself (Plan viii. 1) implies a Greek connexion and carries us back to the Greek exarchs and popes on the Palatine and the Greek colony between it and the river. In the early days of republican Rome a temple of Hercules stood on this spot, and in the degenerate

days of the empire, under the pauperising policy of panem et circenses, a grain store was annexed to the temple. It was consequently an important distributing centre, and so passed by a kind of ancestral right into a diaconate, when pagan buildings were being converted into Christian churches.

The lofty fluted columns of the temple of Hercules remain *in situ*, and the marble pierced windows of the grain hall recall the later addition, and illustrate an interesting architectural feature of the period. Smaller columns of various sizes and forms were added from different sources, two

Antique
columns and
windows.

PLAN IX.—CHURCHES NEAR BATHS OF CARACALLA



1. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo 2. Sta Balbina 3. Sta Saba

near the west end with human figures in the foliage of the capitals belonging to the last century of the pagan empire. The granite bath under the altar containing the bodies of martyrs was probably brought from one of the Roman baths in the eighth century. At this date the church of the Greek adaptation was enlarged by Hadrian I (772-95). The union with Constantinople had been repudiated owing to the iconoclastic tyranny of the Emperor Leo (717-41), and Rome had formed an

Bath from
thermae
used as
sarcophagus.

alliance with the Frankish Empire, which promised great things. The Lombards had been defeated by Pepin, the temporal sovereignty of the Romagna had been conferred on the papacy, Charlemagne had been appointed defender of the Church as Patrician of Rome, and a few years later the Holy Roman Empire was to be established under the dual vicariate of pope and emperor. It was a magnificent theory, but like many another, before and since, took too little account of human nature. For the present, however, money was plentiful, the leaders were sanguine, churches were built or restored, and among them this one. The extension of the building eastwards, with three apsidal terminals—the first example of this design—and their decoration, belong to this date.

Frescoes of
8th c.

The work was executed by Greek artists, who came to Rome in great numbers to escape the image and picture-destroying régime in their own country and brought with them many Byzantine works of art.

Another three centuries passed, and in addition to the wear and tear of time, the church suffered severely from the Norman fire. Gregory VII (Hildebrand) had humiliated Henry IV at Canossa and called in the Sicilian Normans to rescue him from the imperial vengeance; the pope was delivered from S. Angelo, but at the expense of the city, which was fired in several places by Guiscard's undisciplined followers. We shall meet with many proofs of this disastrous act of vandalism.

A complete restoration was undertaken under Paschal II (1099-1118) and his successor Callixtus II (1118-24). The Greek gallery for women over the aisles was abolished at this time, and an archivolt was substituted for the architrave. The open screen across the church, in which panels of eighth-century low reliefs are used, the exceptionally fine opus Alexandrinum pavement, the ambones, candlestick, and episcopal chair with lion arms, belong substantially to this twelfth-century restoration. The Gothic canopy over

Screen,
ambones,
episcopal
chair,
pavement,
12th c.

Canopy,
13th c.

the altar by Deodatus Cosmatus, a pupil of Arnolfo di Cambio, is of the following century.

The arrangement of the schola cantorum and sanctuary on the plan of St. Clemente is recent, though probably on original lines. Some of the ponderaria, or martyrs' stones, will be noticed in the west wall.

In the sacristy there is an interesting memorial of the Greek connexion, though it was not made for this church. It is a fragment of mosaic of the early eighth century, representing the Madonna, Child, Joseph, and angel, from an adoration scene; the arm of one of the magi indicates the subject. It came from the chapel of the Virgin erected near St. Peter's by John VII (705-7), one of the last of the Greek popes. It is more realistic and graceful in detailed figures and general composition than was usual at this period; the costume of the Virgin is that with which later art has made us familiar.

The campanile is one of the best examples of these characteristic features of twelfth-century Roman architecture. The Roman towers have a distinct style of their own, differing in detail, as well as in general design, from those of Tuscany and Lombardy. The closed vestibule is not so effective as an open one, but the round-arched propylon, by which it is approached, is an interesting specimen of the early doorway of an atrium.

A similar one may be seen at Sta Prassede. The name of the piazza is derived from the grotesque mask in the vestibule, popularly supposed to have been used as a test of the sincerity of an oath. It was probably made by a humorous mason for a drain cover.

A temple of Hercules under the republic, a public food store in the declining days of the empire, a church under the Byzantine popes, reconstructed at the inauguration of the Holy Roman Empire, damaged by the Norman protectors of Hildebrand, rebuilt by the early papal monarchs, decorated

Mosaic
of 8th c.

Campanile,
12th c.

Propylon,
8th c.

Revision.

by the Cosmati family, restored to its medieval form in modern days, with its antique columns and windows, its twelfth-century marble furniture and pavement, its thirteenth-century canopy, its portico and campanile, Sta Maria in Cosmedin holds a prominent place amongst the historical and artistic monuments of classical and medieval Rome.

SS. NEREO ED ACHILLEO

Mosaic over apse	8th c.	Screen.
Pavement of sanctuary	12th c.	Spiral columns.
Episcopal chair.		Paschal candlestick.

There was a church here (Plan ix. 1) in very early days under the name of Titulus Fasciolæ, so called from an incident in the 'Domine, quo vadis' legend, in which St. Peter is said to have dropped the bandage of his wounded foot on this spot. When the bodies of martyrs and others were removed from the catacombs, those of Nereus and Achilleus, the martyred servants of Domitilla, were placed under the altar here. They were moved to the church of S. Adriano at a later date and brought back in the seventeenth century. The mosaic over the apse belongs to the papacy of Leo III (795-816), and is therefore contemporary with the coronation of Charlemagne in St. Peter's. It is Byzantine in design and of poor execution, but the colours are good. In the centre is the Transfiguration, the Saviour being placed alone in an aureole, with Moses and Elias on either side; the three apostles kneel in awkward fashion on the mount, turning their faces away from the dazzling brightness. In the corner to the left is a naive Annunciation, in which the Virgin with distaff in one hand expresses her astonishment with the other. In the opposite corner the angel adores the Mother and Child in what is called the Theotokos (Mother of God) attitude. The decadence of art clearly reached a serious stage before the death of the great emperor threw the western world once more into the melting-pot.

Mosaic,
8th c.

The pavement of the sanctuary is original Cosmati work of the twelfth century, but most of the other articles were brought to the church by Cardinal Baronius, its titular, at the end of the sixteenth century. They are well worth detailed examination though heterogeneous. There are two pagan altars under marble retables on either side of the sanctuary; the episcopal chair is made up of monuments of various marbles beautifully decorated; the screen, pulpit and altar belong to the same category, and under the last is an open marble fenestrella of the seventh or eighth century. The paschal candlestick is of Renaissance work, and some fine marble spiral columns are used in the side altars. The cardinal was a collector of antiques and wished to arrange his church after the primitive fashion.

His inscription imploring his successors to leave his work intact ought to have been written in letters of gold in all the Roman churches. How great would have been our debt of gratitude had he effected so desirable a consummation!

STA BALBINA

Open hall church	c. 6th c.	Open roof
Episcopal throne	13th c.	Gable with round windows
Tomb of Card. de Surdis	c. 1302	Portico (altered)
Relief of crucifixion	c. 1489	

The church (Plan ix. 2) is mentioned in the time of Gregory the Great (590-604), but when it was built is uncertain. It is of the same type as two of Rome's earliest churches; Sta Pudenziana and Sta Croce in Gerusalemme, both of which apparently owed their design to the fact that they were built in private houses. All three were built originally without the usual threefold division, that is, without nave and aisles, but this is the only one of the three which has retained its original form. It is placed here next

to SS. Nereo ed Achilleo for the sole reason that it is most convenient to visit the two together.

There are two attractions in the church which more than repay the trouble of reaching it. The episcopal chair is the most beautiful example of Cosmati work, in this particular article of church furniture, to be found in Rome, and well deserves its raised dais and especial niche. And in the left wall there is a mutilated tomb, signed by John the son of Master Cosmas, which was rescued from the builders of St. Peter's minus its canopy. It contains the effigy of Cardinal de Surdis, and for reverential expression of sleep in death, treated with true artistic dignity, simplicity and restraint, is worth a dozen of the ponderous pomposities of the new basilica. Over an altar, on the opposite wall, is a relief of the crucifixion in the Tuscan manner, another of Bramante's rejected treasures. The exterior of the church is simple, the circular windows in the gable uncommon in Rome, and the portico has undergone an unfortunate restoration.

STA SABA

Fragments of fresco	c. 600	Portions of screen	12th c
"	c. 700	Pavement	"
Columns and caps	antique	Roof	"
Sarcophagi	"	Portico and gallery	"
Episcopal chair	12th c.	Doorway	"
Altar canopy	"	Servian wall	600 B.C.

Those who are keen on the subject of seventh- and eighth-century frescoes will not mind an afternoon's stroll over the Aventine to Sta Saba (Plan ix. 3), but they must understand that only the veriest fragments are left. This is another victim of the eleventh-century Norman fire and another example of rebuilding on the top of the ruin. The many instances of building over building in Rome explain the extraordinary changes of level visible wherever there has been excavation. In this case the lower church can be visited, but the frescoes have been

framed and brought to the upper church. It was a monastic church, built by Greeks from a convent in Palestine and dedicated to an honoured abbot of their order. It was placed in a corner of the

Fragments of
Servian wall,
c. 600 B.C.

seen on the road outside and built into the garden wall of this monastery. The most noteworthy of the fresco fragments is the lower part of the face of the Saviour, just enough for a connoisseur to judge by. The careful modelling and

Frescoes,
7th and 8th c.

decided work place it on a level with the single angel's face in Sta Maria Antica. There was evidently an artist of ability amongst the Greek monks. There are some saints' heads of the same period, but not of equal merit. A fresco, illustrating the healing of the palsied man, shows the dramatic power evidenced in the smaller pictures in Sta Maria Antica and imitated in the later ones of S. Clemente. It probably dates, like those of Sta Maria Antica, from the eighth century. The antique columns with their damaged capitals of different material and orders will be noticed. The archivolt in the place of an architrave, for which they were originally made, has necessitated the employment of an extra piece of stone. The sculptors have not spent

Roof,
pavement,
screen, chair,
12th c.

much time in harmonising it with its surroundings. The twelfth-century open roof remains with several bits of Cosmati work in pavement, screen, and episcopal chair. The canopy, too, is of the normal twelfth-century Roman design. The doorway, like that of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, is decorated

Cosmati work,
12th c.

Cosmati fashion and by the same man, Jacopo Cosmas. The inscription over it runs: 'In the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the seventh year of our lord Innocent III, by order of John the Abbot, this work has been done by the hand of Magister Jacopo.' The archi-

Portico and
gallery,
12th c.

tect of the church, whoever he might be, gave Rome a novel exterior with an open gallery over the portico and an anteporch to the outer wall.

THE NINTH CENTURY

ON Christmas Day, 800, Charlemagne, kneeling before the altar of St. Peter's, received from the hands of

Foundation
of the
Holy Roman
Empire,
800 A.D.

Pope Leo III the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. The pope, who by force of circumstances held the spiritual imperium, claimed the right to transfer the military imperium from Constantinople to Aachen. A new political combination was created in Europe of enormous consequences, but based on false premises. The Holy Roman Empire was at first coterminous with Charlemagne's Empire. England, Spain, the Scandinavian peninsula and other countries of Europe were never in it. When Charlemagne's possessions were divided after his death France dropped out, and it dwindled down to Germany and Italy, or more truly to the emperor and the pope, between whom it was a cause of continuous quarrel. The personal power of Charlemagne and his magnificent gifts as a ruler gave hope of speedy return of civilisation and peace. But, as in the case of Theodoric, Charlemagne left no one of his own calibre to carry on the empire, and the confusion which followed his death was worse than anything that had been known before. Christian Europe reached its darkest period in the ninth and tenth centuries.

In 843 the West and East Franks were permanently separated, that is to say, France and Germany were born.

Birth of
France and
Germany.

In 846 the Saracens, who had conquered Sicily and a part of Southern Italy, were round the walls of Rome, plundering the basilicas outside. Pope Leo IV (847-55) was obliged to fortify St. Peter's and the borgo—the Leonine city as it was henceforth called—with a wall of defence, parts of which between the Vatican and the Castle of St. Angelo still remain.

During the papacy of Nicholas I (858-67) the

documents known to history as the 'Forged Decretals' made their first appearance. The written instructions

and decisions of the popes on matters of faith and discipline, which were issued from time to time as occasion demanded, were

known as decretals and formed a valuable embodiment of papal policy and principles for future guidance. After the death of Charlemagne, the dual vicariate of pope and emperor was clearly doomed to failure, and churchmen began to look to papal supremacy as the solution of the difficulty. The question was widely discussed and the Petrine claims were settled to the satisfaction of those concerned. It was asserted that this doctrine had been held by the popes from the beginning, and words and occasions in support of it were soon forthcoming. It was an uncritical age, and it is very difficult to measure the responsibility of its acts. A new volume of decretals appeared, which purported to be the written statements of the early popes on this subject. It was so carefully worded that the ecclesiastical world accepted

it as genuine and authoritative, but the Church of Rome in the fifteenth century admitted that it was neither. Between these dates, however,

it had great influence. Almost immediately after its issue the chaos of the last half of the ninth century

set in, and when order began to reappear the documents had become venerable. The reformed monks of Cluny were greatly influenced by them, and under their inspiration Hildebrand reformed the papacy.

used by Hildebrand, 11th c.

STA PRASSEDE

Colonnades and architrave	antique	Mosaics of the arches	9th c.
Steps to the sanctuary	"	St. Zeno Chapel	"
Slab of Sta Prassede	"	Tomb of Card. Anchera	12th c.
Mosaics of the apse	9th c.	Anteporch	9th c.

This is one of the titular churches (Plan vii. 2) of Rome of the fifth century, and is said to be built over

the house of Prassede, daughter of Pudens and sister of Pudentiana. It was rebuilt in the ninth century

by Paschal I (817-24), who had been its titular priest, and has undergone various later restorations. The pillars, transverse arches,

and ceiling are late sixteenth-century work, and the aggressive baldachino a century

later, to which period the general decoration belongs. The colonnades and architrave are antique, and were

probably brought here in the ninth-century rebuilding, as they are poor in quality and badly put

together. There are some handsome rosso antico steps leading up to the sanctuary, and the slab

in the wall at the end of the left aisle is a fine piece of marble.

The objects of especial interest in the church are its mosaics, as they belong to the last series attempted

in Rome before the dark age of two centuries' cessation set in. If we except the mosaics

of Sta Maria Maggiore as of doubtful date and as belonging to an earlier style, we can begin with

Sta Pudenziana, a neighbouring church to this, and follow the development of mosaic decoration through

each century from the fourth to the tenth. At this point there is an interval of more than a hundred years,

during which church-building, restoration, and decoration almost ceased. Towards the end of the tenth

century light appears again, art is reborn, and progress on every side leads gradually up to the Renaissance.

The century immediately before the dark age is especially well represented, because a short revival took

place at that time in connexion with the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire

and the coronation of Charlemagne. There was a great outburst of activity in consequence

of these events, and just before the effects of the death of the great emperor were felt four of the old titular

churches were rebuilt—Sta Prassede, Sta Maria in Domnica, Sta Cecilia, and S. Marco—in all of which

Temporary revival of art in the 9th c.

the apse mosaics remain in good condition. The first three were under one pope, Paschal I (817-24), and the last by his successor, Gregory IV (827-44). We have, therefore, the opportunity of examining thoroughly the mosaic art of the first part of the ninth century, as well as of comparing it with that of the fourth and intervening centuries.

In the semidome of the apse of Sta Prassede, St. Paul holds his Roman position on the right of the Saviour with his hand on the shoulder of the patron saint, and St. Peter is in a similar position on the other side with her sister, Sta Pudenziana.

Mosaic of
apse, 9th c.

At either end are Pope Paschal I and St. Zeno, the former with the blue nimbus which indicated a living person; in this case, therefore, we may regard the figure as a portrait. The nimbed phoenix, symbolising the resurrection, is in the palm tree on the right, and below are the river Jordan, the mystic Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and the twelve sheep. On the triumphal arch the heavenly

Portrait of
Paschal I.

Mosaic of
arch, 9th c.

city occupies the centre, an enclosure studded with precious stones, in which is the Redeemer between two archangels, and on a lower level personifications of the churches of the Jews and Gentiles, the twelve apostles and the Baptist with crowns in their hands. On either side the elect await admission, and on the inner arch the throned Lamb, surrounded by angels and evangelists, is adored by the four and twenty elders. The inscription in the apse and the monogram of Paschal under the arch will be noticed.

The chapel of St. Zeno, within and without, is a gem of mosaic decoration of the same date. The principal doorway, with handsome marble columns and entablature, has a double semicircle of medallions, representing the Saviour and apostles and the Madonna and saints, with two prophets above and two bishops below. In the interior the ceiling and upper parts of the wall contain the Saviour's head supported by angels; the Virgin and

Chapel of
St. Zeno,
with mosaics,
9th c.

St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. John, St. Andrew and St. James, St. Agnes, St. Pudenziana and Sta Prassede. Amongst the figures over the door is the mother of Paschal with a square nimbus and curiously described as Theodora Episcopa, probably indicating that she had taken an active part in the ministry of her son. She is described in the same way in the list of martyrs, virgins, and widows, transferred by Paschal from the catacombs to this church. Above the holy water stoup an inscription states that two thousand three hundred bodies were brought here by Paschal. In the vestibule of the chapel there is a fifteenth-century tomb of a cardinal, of good design and workmanship; and in the chapel next to the present

Tomb of
Card. Anchera,
early 13th c.

entrance to the church is a mutilated tomb with one of the best executed effigies in Rome, an admirable piece of sculpture well worth careful notice. It is the figure of Cardinal Anchera and is an early thirteenth-century work, probably by a member of the Cosmati family, though it has been claimed for Arnolfo di Cambio.

Those who are interested in early Christian architecture should walk to the old entrance in the street at the bottom of the hill, where the ninth-century entrance gate of the atrium remains in a neglected condition. There is also a campanile embedded in the block of buildings, to which it is not easy to gain access. There were periods of reaction in the downward course as in every other, times when it looked as if civilisation had won and henceforth progress might be expected.

Revision.

They were usually brought about by the influence of a powerful personality on the side of right, as was the case in the days of Theodoric and of Gregory the Great, and again now in the early part of the ninth century under Charlemagne. When the bold step of severance from the empire, and the still bolder step of union with the Frankish monarchs had been taken, the popes looked to the future with renewed hopefulness. There was, moreover,

Propylon,
9th c.

Campanile,
12th c.

money forthcoming from the new Church property which Pepin and Charlemagne had taken from the Lombards and conferred on the papacy. Henceforth the pope had sovereign power over the Romagna, and the voluntary imprisonment of its head in the Vatican is the penalty imposed by the Roman Church on its withdrawal. What Pepin gave in the eighth century the Italian nation cannot take away in the twentieth. These mosaics are of exceptional interest, as showing that there were capable artists in Rome up to the middle of the ninth century.

STA MARIA IN DOMNICA

Mosaic	9th c.	Portico	16th c.
Design of building	16th c.		

This is another of the old titular churches (Plan xi. 4) rebuilt by Paschal I (817-24) and again in its present form in the sixteenth century. It originated in the house of Sta Cyriaca, and when Rome was divided into seven *déaconries* for the distribution of alms and similar work, it was the church of the archdeacon. It was, therefore, the scene of the ministry of St. Lawrence. The mosaic on the arch and dome are of the date of Paschal's restoration in the ninth century, and should be compared with those of Sta Prassede and Sta Cecilia of the same period. Here the semidome is filled by a majestic figure of the Virgin and Child in what is known as the Theotokos (Mother of God) attitude. The Madonna is seated on a jewelled throne, clothed in the blue hood and garment used in art for the next five centuries, amid a crowd of worshipping angels, with the square-nimbed pope on a diminutive scale kneeling at her feet. On either side, in the spandrels, are bearded prophets, and on the arch above her head the Paschal monogram. Above the arch is the Saviour in aureole between angels and apostles.

Early foundation rebuilt in 9th c.

Scene of the ministry of St. Lawrence in the 3rd c.

Mosaic of the 9th c.

The present church was built for Leo X under the direction of Raphael. The proportions, needless to say, are excellent, but there does not appear to be much of Raphael's decorative work left. The Doric portico is of the same date and is associated with M. Angelo. The marble boat replaces a Roman votive offering of the same form.

Rebuilt by Raphael in the 16th c.

STA CECILIA

Atrium	5th c.	Tomb of Card. Easton	1398
Cantharus		Forteguerra	1474
Portico	9th c.	Maderna's statue	1599
Mosaic		Calidarium	antique
Altar canopy	1292	Crypt	
Paschal candlestick		Underground house	

This (Plan x. 3) is the third of the titular churches which Paschal I (817-24) rebuilt or restored. It was founded on the house of a Christian branch of the Gens Cecilia, a member of which came into conflict with the authorities in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-80) and suffered martyrdom. Her example was followed by her husband Valerian and her brother-in-law Tiburtius—three from one house. The story is that she was thrust into boiling water in her own home and then executed; whatever may have been the method, her death created a deep impression on the Christian community and gave her an honoured place in 'the noble army.' A church probably existed in the house in the days of persecution and was replaced by a larger building after the declaration of peace. The spacious atrium, disfigured by a modern gateway and the walls of houses, testifies to a building earlier than the fifth century, when this arrangement ceased; the water jar near one of the walls is said to have been its fountain. The existing portico is of the ninth century and represents the confusion of the architectural world by the variety of its materials. The entablature

House church, 2nd c.

Martyrdom of Sta Cecilia and others in 2nd c.

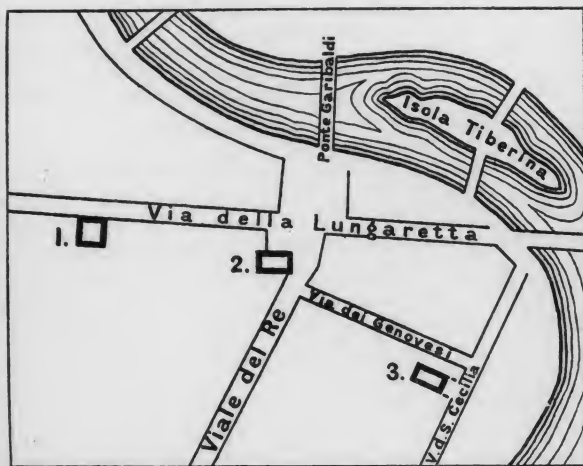
Atrium and cantharus.

Portico, 9th c.

Mosaic, 9th c.

retains some of Paschal's mosaic, as does the semidome of the apse inside the church. In the latter the Saviour, with raised hand, stands between St. Paul, St. Agatha and Pope Paschal with the square nimbus on one side, and St. Peter, St. Cecilia and her husband on the other. The twelve sheep turn towards the enthroned Lamb, but the lower part of the mosaic is lost.

PLAN X.—TRASTEVERE CHURCHES



1. Sta Maria in Trastevere 2. S. Crisogono 3. Sta Cecilia

To compensate for various disappointments in the existing church there is an altar canopy by Arnolfo di Cambio of exceptional merit. We have already seen a similar work by this artist at St. Paul's f. l. m. and shall at once recognise the purity of style and excellence of workmanship. The supporting columns are rather strong in colour, but the whole work is distinctly artistic. The same word could hardly be applied to the altar and its surroundings, and still less to the restoration which encased the

Arnolfo di
Cambio's
canopy, 1292.

columns, blocked up the galleries, and designed the ceiling.

The sacristan will show the calidarium and explain the mysteries of the underground rooms and passages.

Calidarium. The decoration of the crypt with modern mosaics leads us to hope that some day Crypt.

Cardinal Rampolla may see his way to the expulsion of Maderna's statue. Whatever good purpose may have been served by opening the sarcophagus in 1599, the memorial need not be perpetual and the ordinary worshippers might be credited with some advance in refinement.

Pope Paschal was very active in rescuing the catacombs from the neglect and confusion into which they had fallen by the ninth century. We have seen that he moved upwards of two thousand bodies to the church of Sta Prassede. He was much troubled because he was unable for some time to identify the tomb of Sta Cecilia in the cemetery of St. Callixtus. An old mosaic near the underground staircase in this church depicts the solution of the pope's difficulty through a dream. It was for the purpose of placing the martyred remains under its altar that he restored the church.

There are still two attractions in the tombs on either side of the main entrance. On the left lies Cardinal

Adam Easton, canon of Salisbury and Prebendary of Yetminster, who was titular of this church. The sculptor, whoever he may have

been, has given us a clever portrait of a strong character, but the peaceful look by no means accords with the experiences of the English ecclesiastic in Italy. Pope Urban VI (1378-89) was anxious to lead an army of mercenaries in aid of Charles of Durazzo against Louis of Anjou, but was opposed by six of his cardinals. He seized the six, imprisoned them, dragged them to Genoa, and strangled four of them. Easton alone escaped and obtained his release by the intervention of Richard II of England. He was restored to his position by the next pope, Boniface IX, returned to Rome, and died there

Tomb of
Card. Easton,
1398.

in 1398. On the other side is Cardinal Forteguerria (*d.* 1474), whose tomb is the delicate work of Mino da Fiesole. The cardinal led the papal forces against the brigands of the Campagna with great success, and was in command of the papal galleys assembled at Ancona for an expedition against the Mahometans, when Pius II, the prime mover, died. With all his military and naval experiences, the contemporary reputation gained by the cardinal was that of a saint.

The atrium recalls an arrangement which was discarded in the fifth century. St. Paul's outside the walls,

Sta Pudenziana, S. Clemente, S. Stefano

Revision. Rotondo and Sta Cecilia retain the enclosure, which separated most of the early churches from the public thoroughfares. It served for the instruction of catechumens, the formation of processions, and all such purposes as were better done outside the sacred building, and at the same time protected the worshippers from external disturbances. The fountains were used for symbolical cleansings, and are represented in modern days by the holy water stoup. The tombs of the two cardinals are of Florentine workmanship, and are evidence of the dispersal of the Roman craftsmen during the unfortunate Avignon exile. When local art revived after the Renaissance it passed rapidly into the baroque and rococo exaggerations, of which the modern restoration of this church is a miserable descendant.

S. MARCO

Mosaic	9th c.	Portrait of Pope Marcus	16th c.
Pavement of sanctuary	12th c.	Well head	9th c.
Ceiling	15th c.	Doorway	15th c.

This is one of the old foundations of the fourth century which Pope Marcus, who held the chair at the time of Constantine's death, built and dedicated to his patron saint, the evangelist St. Mark.

Foundation, 4th c. We should have expected to find more honour paid to this evangelist in the churches of Rome, as he

was certainly here with St. Paul and was traditionally the amanuensis of St. Peter. It is not improbable that he wrote his gospel in the city. The earliest remains, however, in the present building are the work of Gregory IV (827-44), who rebuilt and probably enlarged the church for the reception of the bodies of three martyrs, SS. Abdon, Sennen, and Ermete. It was the period of translation of martyrs' relics to city altars. The mosaic is interesting as the latest production of Roman art in apse decoration before the chaos which followed

the death of Charlemagne set in. There had been for some time a general decline in artistic power, but worse had to come. The patron saint of the church presents its new founder to the Saviour, who has on His left the first founder, Pope Marcus, with St. Agapitus and St. Agnes. Above and below are the symbolical and representative figures to which we are accustomed in Roman apse decoration—the four evangelists, the twelve apostles, the two cities, St. Peter and St. Paul. The church underwent a great change when Cardinal Barbo, afterwards Paul II, built the adjoining Palazzo Venezia in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Restoration, 15th c., The ceiling and principal doorway belong to this period, both of them bearing the Barbo arms. S. Marco was incorporated in the palace, which appropriately became the residence of the Venetian ambassador, and passed later with Venice into the possession of Austria. A further restoration in 1744 added the aggressive Sicilian marble columns, which were attached to those already there. The imaginary portrait of Pope Marcus in the chapel at the end of the right aisle is a moderate production of a Venetian artist. In the portico there are fragments from the earlier buildings, and amongst them the well head, which once stood in the middle of the atrium, now pleasantly planted with palms.

With the mosaic of this church we bid farewell to this method and almost every other form of church

decoration for more than a hundred years. There was no room for art under the conditions into which Rome and Western Christendom sank in this darkest of all periods. With the dawn of the second millennium an improvement set in which happily proved to be continuous. The next examples of church decoration will mark the beginning of better things.

THE TENTH CENTURY

THE dynastic troubles in Germany gave the feudal nobles of Italy and Rome the opportunity they wanted. The result was the most terrible state of chaos the country and city had ever seen. Men of infamous character obtained possession of the castle of St. Angelo and governed the city in accordance with their own ideas. In this they were assisted by wives and daughters, whose characters were even worse than their own. Theophylact, Marozia, and Theodora have become by-words of infamy. They elected their own children and friends to the offices of the Church, the papacy included, simply for the sake of patronage and revenue. It would be grossly unjust to speak of the popes of this period as in any way representative men. The one bright spot in Christendom was the reformed Benedictine monastery at Cluny, and from it came the turn for the better.

Clunian monks.

In 918 things began to mend in Germany through the election of Henry the Fowler to the throne. His son, Otto I, was invited to Rome by Pope John XII, a grandson of Marozia, and perhaps the worst of the popes. Otto received the imperial crown at his hands

(961), but was subsequently obliged to depose him on account of his intolerable viciousness. The restoration of the Holy Roman Empire, however, was not popular in Italy. The German king did not rule, as Charlemagne had done, over the greater part of Christendom, and his election meant the intrusion of the monarch of a foreign country, who brought with him no counter-balancing advantages. The successors of Otto, however, insisted on retaining the imperial office and appointed German popes. They were many of them, like Otto himself, rulers of great ability, who would have been excellent monarchs in either country, but their divided attention prevented Italy from becoming a nation and left Germany with half a king. The imperial coronation was more often than not a scene of bloodshed. Otto II found a grave in Rome, and both Otto III and his learned tutor, Gerbert, whom he made pope under the title of Sylvester II (999-1003), were poisoned there. In other parts of Europe there were clear signs of national consolidation. Further inroads of Danes were causing trouble in England, but the Normans had settled down to civilised life in France, where Hugh Capet began a long line of kings in 987. Christian Spain was as yet unable to drive out the Moors, who had reached a brilliant phase of culture far surpassing all their contemporaries in literature, art, and civilisation. There was a general apprehension that the end of all things would come in the year 1000, and its passage was hailed with relief.

Holy Roman Empire restored.

European nations being formed.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

THE Saxon emperors were followed by the Franconian. Henry III in his northern kingdom performed the

Improvement in Germany.

work of spiritual as well as temporal ruler. Under the influence of Cluniac teaching he reformed the Church, filled the bishoprics with suitable men, and effected beneficial changes in every direction. In 1046 he was invited to Rome to settle papal disputes. There were three popes in the city at the same time. Two had been elected by rival factions, one of whom had sold the office to a third and then refused to resign. Henry deposed all three and elected a German. Two German popes then died in succession before they could act, and a third was appointed under the title of Leo IX (1049-55).

Hildebrand.

Under this papacy Hildebrand, the Cluniac monk, began his work of papal reformation, which made the bishop of Rome for the next two hundred years the leading power of Europe. Between 1049 and 1073 there were five popes under Hildebrand's influence. The

Use of the Forged Decretals.

Forged Decretals (p. 180) now became useful with their pedigree of two hundred years. The primacy of St. Peter, the vicariate of Christ, the supreme headship of Christendom, imposed duties and responsibilities which had been shamefully neglected. A reform of the clergy, of clerical appointments and of papal elections was called for. The clergy should be a caste apart from the laity and should not marry. Ecclesiastical appointments, including temporalities, should be entirely free from lay patronage. The popes should be elected by the college of cardinals. How far Hildebrand's policy was carried out is to be seen in the practice of the Roman Church in the present day. The extent of its success is a matter for history to decide. In 1073 the monk behind the pope had to accept the responsibilities as well as the direction of the papal policy, and

Hildebrand becomes Gregory VII.

became Gregory VII (1073-86). Henry III had left a child heir, who succeeded him as Henry IV (1056-1106). After a victory over some rebellious Saxon nobles the young king (1075) received a papal reprimand on the subject of an ecclesiastical appointment, which induced him to declare Gregory deposed. The reply came

Excommunication of the Emperor.

promptly in the form of a solemn papal excommunication, in consequence of which the rebellious nobles, backed by the pope, declared that they would elect another king, unless he was absolved within a year. Henry, knowing that his

Canossa.

crown depended on it, made his humiliating visit to Canossa, recovered his position in his own country, and set out to avenge himself on the pope in Rome. Gregory, on the point of being captured

The Norman rescue and fire.

in the Castle of St. Angelo, was rescued by Robert Guiscard, whose rabble of Normans and Saracens from Sicily set fire to the city (1086). Henry received the imperial crown from the hands of a pope of his own election.

In the early part of this century the Danes reached a position of great power in northern Europe. Canute

Danes.

was King of England, Denmark, Norway, and

Normans.

part of Sweden. The Normans were settled in their French province, and in 1066 their

duke, under the sanction of Pope Alexander II, successfully invaded England and thereby created a rival to the rising French power. The Christian King of Castile in Spain began to make successful inroads on the Mussulman territory (1084). The Normans had gained a footing in Sicily and South Italy, which they held in fief of the pope (1062). In virtue of this their ruler, Robert Guiscard, came to the help of Gregory VII. In

Turks.

the East a new and formidable danger had arisen in the advance of the Turks to the western boundaries of Asia—a far more intractable Mahometan power than the Saracens.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

HILDEBRAND wanted to place the clergy in a position of complete independence of the state without forfeiting their landed property. The question was raised in a

variety of ways, the most important of which was the matter of lay investiture. This was the form by which the higher church dignitaries acknowledged the feudal obligations attached to lands held from the crown. Many of these were undoubtedly inconsistent with the clerical profession and might have been changed without sacrifice of principle. But the popes wanted more than this. Henry V offered to make ecclesiastical offices pure spiritualities and Pope Paschal II concurred. But the wrath of the clergy at the prospective loss of their lands obliged him to retract. The difficulty arose again in

respect to the vast property in land bequeathed by Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, to the Church. There were many fief obligations, which led to disputes between emperor and pope and consequent bloodshed.

The great feature of the early part of the twelfth century was the first Crusade (1099), another idea more noble in theory than in practice. Otto III and the learned Pope Sylvester II had dreamt of a great Christian empire, embracing the old Roman provinces of the East, and of the expulsion of the Mahometans from the holy places. But they were before their time. Hildebrand advocated a crusade, and his successor, Urban II, saw its attraction to the fighting spirit of the age. With extraordinary enthusiasm the French, once more the eldest sons of

the Church, flocked to the holy standard, mortgaged their property, paid their tribute to the costs, and set out to destroy the infidels. The emperor, on the other hand, made no response to the papal call in the first Crusade. Jerusalem

Lay
investiture.

Will of
Matilda,
Countess of
Tuscany.

The first
Crusade,
1099.

Jerusalem
taken.

was taken, a Latin kingdom was established for about a century, several crusades were sent to maintain or to recover it, but at the cost of millions of lives, incredible suffering, and frightful waste of treasure. The papacy gained in wealth and prestige as the leader of united Christendom, but it was a Pyrrhic victory. The Crusades did not foster a Christian spirit, but contact with other countries and people, experience of higher culture and wider views of life, made a deep impression on medievalism. Men became dissatisfied with their condition, demanded schools and universities, and set in motion the spirit of inquiry, which led to the Renais-

sance and the Reformation. The Cistercian monks, under the able leadership of St. Bernard, were the main check on extravagances, whether in art or in new ideas. Abelard at the University of Paris, and his pupil Arnold of Brescia in Rome, found in them their chief opponents. The Cistercians were the great patrons of the new Gothic architecture in its early simplicity. The magnificent cathedrals and beautiful parish churches all over Northern Europe testify to the work of Christianity and to its influence on medieval life.

In 1138 the imperial crown passed to the Hohenstaufens, and a great struggle began between emperor and pope. The decisive campaign was fought between Frederick Barbarossa (1152-90) and Alexander III (1159-81), who was very fortunate in his opportunities. The day of cities had come and, owing to the want of a central authority, there were many in Northern Italy. Frederick, in a high-handed way, had rased Milan to the ground. Local jealousy was at once put aside, and under a Lombard league, supported by the pope, Milan was rebuilt. The emperor suffered a severe defeat and had to humiliate himself before the pope at Venice, as well as to grant a charter of liberties to the cities. The capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187 necessitated a third crusade, in which

The
Cistercians.

The Hohen-
staufen
dynasty.

Third
Crusade.

Barbarossa lost his life before he reached the scene of action. Each crusade was more harmful and less Christian than the last, this one being distinguished by the ill-feeling between Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur de Lion.

The Norman occupation of Sicily came to an end by the marriage of the heiress with the son of Barbarossa, afterwards Henry VI. The papacy thereby lost its supporters in the South, and by its attempt to recover its position there brought much trouble to Italy in after years.

Sicily passes
to the
Empire.

S. CLEMENTE, LOWER CHURCH

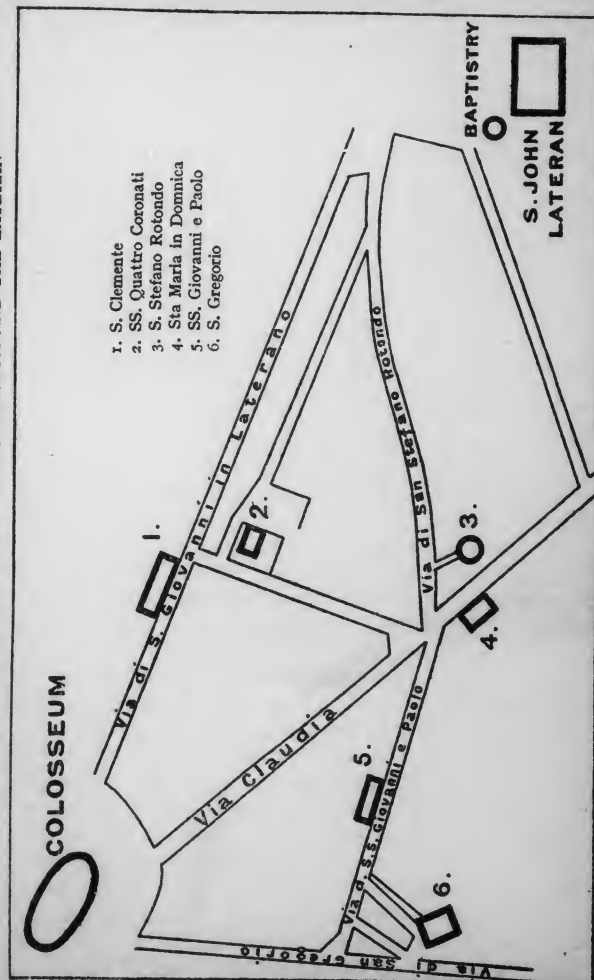
Old basilica	6th c.	Translation of relics	11th c.
Madonna and saints	7th c.	Finding the child	"
Saviour, angels and saints	9th c.	Celebration of Mass	"
The assumption	"	St. Alexius	"

The original church of St. Clement (Plan xi. 1), like those of Sta Pudenziana, Sta Cecilia and others, took the place of one of the domestic assembly rooms of the early church in the days of persecution.

It was the habit to meet in the house of a wealthy convert, who placed whatever accommodation he had at the disposal of the community. The house belonged to the family of St. Clement, the fourth on the list of the bishops of Rome, to whom the later church was dedicated. In the excavations which have been made under the church, buildings of a still earlier period have been found. In one part were a shrine and statue of Mithras, the sun god, whose worship was introduced into Rome by Pompey's soldiers on their return from Syria. It became prevalent throughout the empire in the second and third centuries A.D. Below these again are constructions of the early republican era. But for the present nothing below the lower church is accessible, owing to an influx of water.

The lower church was burnt down in the Guiscard

PLAN XI.—CHURCHES BETWEEN THE COLOSSEUM AND THE LATERAN



fire of 1086, which followed the rescue of Gregory VII (Hildebrand) from the emperor, Henry IV. It is chiefly interesting for the frescoes which remain on its walls and pillars, dating from the seventh, ninth, and eleventh centuries.

On the staircase by which it is reached there are casts of the Mithraic altar and shrine, a rare statue of St. Peter as the good shepherd, &c. We then find ourselves in a building which had been a church for seven centuries before it was burnt. Some of its columns had already been strengthened on account of an earthquake, the pillars encasing them being covered with frescoes.

In a niche in the wall of the right aisle are some well-preserved fragments of a Byzantine composition, representing the Madonna and Child with medallions of saints, dating from the seventh century, the time of the Greek popes. In the vestibule a large ninth-century fresco, framed by columns, represents the Saviour between two angels, with St. Andrew and St. Clement at either end. Of the same date, just inside the church, an assumption with many figures shows more action than is usual in early compositions; the Madonna is in the centre and two bishops on either side. But more remarkable than any is a series of eleventh-century pictures, painted shortly before the destruction of the church by the Norman fire of 1086. They are contemporary with those in the Capella di Martirologio in St. Paul's f. l. m., and like them are unique as a memorial of the very beginning of the revival. They are not Byzantine but Roman and belong to the new age. Two of them are in the vestibule: (1) the translation of the relics of St. Clement, and (2) the mother finding her child alive. The story is that the bishop was banished by Trajan to the Black Sea, in which he was afterwards martyred. Angels built a shrine for his body under the water, which was exposed annually on the anniversary of his death. A mother accidentally left her child in the shrine on one

Frescoes of
the 7th c.,

9th c.,

11th c.

of these occasions and found it alive on the next anniversary. The bishop's bones were brought to Rome in the ninth century. The illustration of St. Clement celebrating the Mass, and the scenes from the life of St. Alexius, are of the same date. The first represents an unbelieving husband struck blind and ordering his servants to drag Clement out; the servants imagine that the column is the bishop. In the second, Alexius, as a pilgrim, meets his father, is found dead by the pope, and is identified by his parents by means of a scroll. Those who have been accustomed to think of art before the days of Giotto and Duccio as absolutely lifeless and grotesque, will modify their ideas after a careful inspection of these compositions.

S. CLEMENTE, UPPER CHURCH

Columns	antique	Pavement	12th c.
Screens and ambones	6th c.	Gothic tabernacle	13th c.
Episcopal chair	"	Fresco in apse	15th c.
Mosaic in apse	12th c. ?	" " chapel	"
Altar canopy	"	Atrium	12th c.

The upper church was built soon after the fire by Paschal II (1099-1118) who, like Hildebrand, had been a Cluniac monk. It is, therefore, a monument of the early days of the papal monarchy, which lasted for two hundred years. From Gregory VII to Boniface VIII (1073 to 1303), with intervals of weak popes and strong opponents, the bishops of Rome were the most powerful rulers in Europe. Then came the French popes at Avignon, the schismatic popes of the return, the luxurious popes of the Renaissance, the great break-up of the Reformation, and no more arbiters of the Western nations.

Paschal's building was on the old lines. He reconstructed the atrium as a cloister, with an anteporch of primitive design and Romanesque canopy which recalls his Cluniac training. His materials from various ruins were put together indiscriminately; the cloister has an architrave on one

Atrium.

side, an archivolt on the other, some columns with Corinthian, others with Ionic, capitals. The nave contains Parian, Numidian, and granite columns, some fluted and others smooth. The fittings were rescued

from the earlier church and rearranged in primitive fashion: the altar with its fenestrella

or pierced marble window, through which the sarcophagus could be viewed; the sanctuary cut off by a marble screen; the choir, occupying a large part of

the nave, with its epistle and gospel ambones, looking, as we should say, east and north,

with its lectern facing the people, and its paschal candlestick, all enclosed in a marble fence. These fittings are of

the sixth century and are marked with the monogram IOHS, which is supposed to be that of John II (532-5). But they were decorated

by Paschal or one of his successors with coloured inlay, the work of the Cosmati school, to which

we are also indebted for the beautiful pavement. This school dominated Roman art in the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries, but the work seems too good for the earlier period. In the sanctuary is the episcopal chair, and

under the altar the bodies of St. Clement and St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch. The latter, martyred in the Colosseum under Trajan, was buried in Antioch, but his

body was transferred to Rome in 637, when the East was overrun by the Saracens. We must take, then, the building itself as a monument of Paschal's time, the

early years of the twelfth century, and allow some latitude for its decoration. There are two theories, for

instance, as to the date of the apse mosaic—one, that it is Paschal's work as a memorial of

the first Crusade, and the other that it was the gift of the Dominican pope Benedict XI (1303-4)

two centuries later. At this time the four Latin saints—Ambrose, Gregory, Jerome, and Augustine—who appear

in the composition in black and white, the Dominican colours, were formally pronounced doctors, and the

date, 1299, on the Gothic tabernacle in the wall, points

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in the composition in black and white, the Dominican colours, were formally pronounced doctors, and the

date, 1299, on the Gothic tabernacle in the wall, points

to new decoration at that period. To whatever date it may belong it is the most perfect mosaic design in Rome, which perhaps will be considered another argument in favour of the later date. The Constantinian vine pattern surrounds the crucifix, in which a reliquary is inserted, and on which the twelve apostles cluster in the form of doves. The figures of the Saviour, Madonna, and St. John are fortunately small, otherwise their ascetic appearance would have been destructive of the note of delight which pervades the whole scene; birds and beasts and men are alike basking in the sunshine of Paradise. The twelve sheep from Bethlehem and Jerusalem adore the nimbed Lamb according to established use. On the face of the arch is the bust of the Saviour between the evangelical symbols with St. Paul and St. Lawrence, St. Peter and St. Clement, seated above the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah.

In the lower part of the apse is a fresco representing the Saviour and His mother in the midst of the apostles. The design is probably that of an earlier mosaic, which it replaced in form but unfortunately not in colour.

At the end of the aisle to the left of the sanctuary there is a tomb, in the construction of which two columns with basketwork capitals from the ciborium of the earlier

church have been used. It is that of Cardinal Jacopo Venerio, Bishop of Syracuse. In a similar position on the other side of the

church are the tombs of (1) Bartolommeo Roverella, an ecclesiastical lawyer, who acted as legate in England and Hungary and was

made titular cardinal of this church, and of (2) his nephew, Giovanni Bruscati, Archbishop of Siena. All three died in the last quarter of

the fifteenth century, and the monuments of the first two were from the workshop of Andrea Bregno, a Lombard sculptor in Rome.

There is one more attraction in the frescoes of the Capella della Passione near the entrance, which need careful examination. They are either by Masolino

Tomb of
Card.
Venerio,
15th c.

Tomb of
Card. Bart.
Roverella,
15th c.

Tomb of
Archbp.
Bruscati,
15th c.

Apsal mosaic,
early 12th or
early 14th c.

Apsal mosaic,
early 12th or
early 14th c.

Apsal mosaic,
early 12th or
early 14th c.

Apsal mosaic,
early 12th or
early 14th c.

Apsal mosaic,
early 12th or
early 14th c.

Apsal mosaic,
early 12th or
early 14th c.

Apsal mosaic,
early 12th or
early 14th c.

Apsal mosaic,
early 12th or
early 14th c.

(1383-1440) or his great pupil Masaccio (1401-28). The latter rescued art from the groove into which the followers of Giotto had fallen, and by his intuitive knowledge of perspective in all its branches started it again on the course which culminated in Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci. If they are by Masolino they represent a man who is known to have had a great influence on Masaccio, and therefore deserves an honoured place in the history of art. Over the entrance to the chapel is an annunciation and behind the altar a crucifixion. On the left wall St. Catherine of Alexandria (1) disputes with the doctors, (2) reproves the idolaters, (3) converts the empress who is martyred, (4) is saved from the wheel, (5) is executed and buried on Sinai. On the right wall, St. Ambrose (1) in his cradle, (2) proclaimed bishop, (3) dies. On the ceiling are the four evangelists and four Latin doctors. Whether by Masolino or by Masaccio they should be judged by the standard of the late Giottoesques, who represented art at the time they were painted.

The eleventh-century frescoes of the lower church herald the dawn of a new life. There had been a tremendous struggle with barbarism for a hundred and fifty years, during which art almost disappeared. This was followed by the reform of the papacy and the Crusades, of which the upper church may be regarded as a memorial. S. Clemente is usually quoted as the best existing example of an early Christian church. Its arrangements are those which were in use in the first churches after the days of persecution. But it must be remembered that the building is eleventh-century. The atrium is a reproduction of that of the earlier church and was not in accordance with the eleventh-century practice, and the decoration of the sixth-century marble furniture is twelfth-century. The mosaic of the apse seems too perfect for the eleventh century, when art was at a low ebb. The frescoes of Masolino remind us of the goal for which art had now started.

Frescoes of
Masolino or
Masaccio.

Revision.

Early church
arrangements
with twelfth-
century
decoration.

SS. QUATTRO CORONATI

Columns	antique	Portico	12th c.
Damasine inscription	4th c.	Double court	"
Gallery	12th c.	Campanile	"
Pavement	"	Oratory of S. Sylvestro	"
Episcopal chair	"	Frescoes	"

This was an important church (Plan xi. 2) in the early days, but after the Norman fire was rebuilt by Paschal II (1099-1118) on a reduced scale. It is close to St. Clement's and is worth visiting on account of some frescoes, poor in quality but interesting in subject, in an oratory connected with it. It is approached by a double court, the second court being the portion cut off in the rebuilding from the original length; in breadth it was docked of its aisles, the present church, nave, and two aisles occupying the old nave only. The columns of the old arcades will be seen still in the outer walls of the present building. The apse is too wide for the present plan, evidently covering the site of the old one. To add to the anomalous form of the church a gallery was built in the reconstruction, which looks as if Greeks had something to do with it. There is a Damatine inscription on the wall to the right of the apse relating to the four soldiers whose martyrdom under Diocletian is commemorated in the dedication of the church. To them were added five Eastern sculptors who were put to death because they refused to make images for the heathen. Their connexion with the church is maintained in the adjoining oratory of S. Sylvestro, which is still the chapel of the Guild of Marble Workers. It is for the purpose of studying the frescoes on the wall of this chapel that a visit is important. They represent the medieval idea of the Donation of Constantine which, however childish it may appear to us, had an important influence for many centuries. It was claimed that Constantine conferred the imperium of the West on Pope Sylvester because he was cured by him of leprosy. The incident is illustrated

Rebuilt in
early 12th c.

Byzantine
gallery.

Donation of
Constantine.

on the walls of the Vatican by Giulio Romano. On this gift was based the power to bestow the crown of the empire and all the crowns of its constituent kingdoms. Charlemagne and all his successors received their crowns from the pope by virtue of this gift; King John of England received his crown from the hands of the papal legate by the same right; and the giving of the Romagna, that is, the temporal power, to the pope by Pepin was but the restoration of property and rights already conferred by this donation. This is partly illustrated by the frescoes on these walls, which represent the emperor as (1) struck with leprosy, (2) refusing the sacrifice of babes, (3) sending for Pope Sylvester, who shows the likenesses of St. Peter and St. Paul, (4) baptised by the pope, (5) presenting the imperium, (6) acting as the pope's vassal.

STA MARIA IN TRASTEVERE

Columns	antique	Campanile	12th c.
Fragments of screen	9th c.	Tombs	14th c.
Upper mosaics	12th c.	"	16th c.
Lower "	13th c.	Oil tabernacle	15th c.
Paschal candlestick	"	Sacristy mosaic	antique
Sanctuary pavement	"	" pictures	

This church (Plan x. 1) is again one of those which go back to the days of persecution. It occupies the site of a pagan building known as the Taberna Meritoria, which, according to legend, was used by permission of the Emperor Alexander Severus (222-35) for Christian worship. Near it was an oil spring, which was said to have had a miraculous Christian origin. The fons olei is marked on the sanctuary rail and the Taberna Meritoria appears in one of Cavallini's mosaics.

Popes Callixtus I (218-22), Cornelius (251-2), and Julius I (337-52) were connected with the earlier buildings, and Innocent II (1130-43) built the present church. It was consecrated by his namesake, Innocent III (1192-1216), the greatest of all the Hildebrandic popes. It was this prelate who placed England under an

interdict, and made King John surrender his crown to the papal legate, that he might receive it back from his hands. We have, therefore, in this building a memorial of the zenith of the papacy.

It is almost contemporary with S. Lorenzo outside the walls and is not dissimilar in outward design. The portico received an unfortunate restoration at a later date and the mosaics of the façade have been manipulated; in the lower part, which contains a fair amount of original work, the Madonna is accompanied by ten female saints, all of whom have their lamps burning, and there are the usual additions of palms, sheep, and cities. The campanile is also of the twelfth century. The portico has four granite columns with Ionic capitals and is filled with fragments, sarcophagi, inscriptions, &c.; amongst these are portions of an old sanctuary screen of the ninth century, carved in the shallow fashion of that date, when everything was done in monasteries. At the left end a sarcophagus contains the remains of two brothers Campeggio, both cardinals, and one of them legate to England on the matter of one of Henry VIII's matrimonial disputes. The three doorways are elaborately carved, and above the centre is the Greek abbreviation of Meter Theou (Mother of God).

The interior of the church is striking, with its fine granite columns, handsome architrave and cornice, but the ceiling is over-decorated. The antique material is said to have come from a temple of Isis and Serapis, indications of which were removed only a few years ago. The present nave pavement is a modern reproduction of an old design. On the wall near the entrance is an elaborate oil tabernacle by or after Mino da Fiesole, and the altar canopy is a copy of the twelfth-century design in S. Lorenzo.

The mosaic in the upper part of the apse belongs to the date of the building and is an excellent piece of work. The Redeemer places His mother, brilliantly

dressed in royal robes, on her throne in the presence of the four popes, who have been connected with the church. Calixtus, Cornelius, Julius, and Innocent II, with the model of the church in his hands, are accompanied by St. Peter, St. Lawrence, and a local martyr, St. Calepodius. The popes wear the pallium. On the face of the arch is the cross between the seven candlesticks, with the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah on either side. Above the episcopal chair are the Virgin and Child with the Meter Theou in medallion, St. Paul on her right, St. Peter on her left, and the kneeling donor with the legend 'Bertoldo filius pinxit.' There is some Cosmati pavement within the apse, and an old form of confessio under the altar.

The mosaics below those we have just examined are even more remarkable. They are by Pietro Cavallini, a Roman artist, who worked with Giotto during his visit in the jubilee year of 1300.

If this date is kept in mind, and these mosaics are judged by the standard of Giotto's contemporaries, and even of Giotto himself, a very high position must be given to Pietro Cavallini in the history of art. A few years after the completion of this mosaic the great collapse came, the popes deserted Rome for Avignon and the artists were scattered. It is permissible to conjecture that Roman artists might have taken a very different place in the Renaissance had their opportunities been normal. In many details of these scenes reminiscences of Giotto will be found, and in all of them there is excellent draughtsmanship and very considerable dramatic power. (1) Birth, (2) Annunciation—Virgin on Cosmatesque throne, (3) Shepherds—Taberna Meritoria, (4) Magi, (5) Presentation, (6) Death of the Virgin—the Saviour carries the soul in an aureole.

In the left aisle near the sanctuary are two tombs which should be noticed. The earlier one, that of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon (*d.* 1397), was moved from the old St. Peter's and was injured thereby. The

Mosaic,
12th c.

Work of Pietro
Cavallini,
1300.

cardinal, a member of the French royal house, and driven from France by Charles V, was made patriarch of Jerusalem and cardinal. On the tomb is a relief of the death of the Virgin, in which the soul, in the form of a swaddled babe, is held by St. John. The farther tomb is by Maestro Paolo, the second of the three Roman sculptors of that name, and is crude but dignified. It is of Cardinal Pietro Stefaneschi (*d.* 1417), a Roman of good family, who took a prominent part in the faction fights of his day, and died a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo (1417). In a similar position on the opposite side of the church are the tombs of Cardinal Armellini and his father (1523), a century later, and showing the approach of the restless age in the uneasy attitudes of the figures, looking as if they had fallen asleep from sheer weariness.

There are some old Roman mosaics in the sacristy, a picture by or after Perugino, portraits of Cardinals York (Stuart) and Gibbons (American), a former and present titular of the church, and in the left aisle a modern tomb of Innocent II.

S. CRISOGONO

Columns	antique.
Mosaic	13th c.
Pavement	"

Not far from Sta Maria in Trastevere is the church of S. Crisogono (Plan x. 2), which is worth visiting in spite of its unprepossessing exterior. Cardinal Borghese appears to have been responsible in the early seventeenth century for the heavy stone garb in which this early titular church has been clothed. It reckons amongst its cardinals Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury who took a prominent part in obtaining the Magna Charta from King John. Its granite columns from the baths of

Tomb of
Card.
d'Alençon,
1397.

Tomb of
Card.
Stefaneschi,
1417.

Armellini
tombs,
16th c.

Early titular
church.

Septimius Severus, and the fine monoliths of porphyry which support its triumphal arch, deserve a better cover than the baroque ceiling of Cardinal Borghese's architect. The proportions of the church are excellent, and with its wide nave it ought not to be difficult to make an attractive interior. There is still the opus Alexandrinum pavement of the thirteenth century, and a small portion of a mosaic of the same date, but a later hand has added metal crowns. The Madonna and Child on a Cosmatesque throne are supported by St. James and St. Crisogonus, the abbreviated Greek form of Mother of God being inserted on either side of the nimbus.

Excavations which have been going on for some time under this church promise results of very great importance. A primitive basilica with confession and altar, rooms of an early house, an open hall with floral decorations and heraldic designs of the twelfth century, frescoes of the ninth century, and medallions of early popes are amongst the discoveries already reported.

STA FRANCESCA ROMANA

Mosaic	12th c.	Bas relief	1584.
Pavement		Tabernacle for oil	15th c.
Tomb of Card. Bulcano	14th c.	Campanile	12th c.
" " Antonio Rido	15th c.		

When the church under the Palatine now known as Sta Maria Antica was destroyed in the ninth century, the services were transferred to this church, which thereby acquired the name of Sta Maria Nuova. Whether it was built at that time or earlier is uncertain.

In the wall of the right transept are two worn paving stones from the Sacra Via, which passes by the church. The impression on them is attributed in an inscription to the knees of St. Peter. The story is that Simon Magus challenged the apostle to a display of power, and in an attempted flight across the Forum was brought to the ground by

Pavement
and mosaic,
13th c.

Underground
church, &c.

St. Peter and
Simon Magus.

prayer. Justin Martyr tells the story of the contest and refers to an altar near the island on the Tiber, inscribed 'Simoni Deo Sancto,' as a proof that divine honours had been paid to Simon Magus. Professor Huelsen states that an altar inscribed, 'Semoni Sancto Deo'—to Semo (a Sabine deity) the god of oaths—was found on that spot in 1574, and suggests that this, through a misreading, was the origin of the legend. The Madonna and Child over the altar is an early Byzantine work brought from the East in the eleventh century and attributed, like most of these Eastern pictures, to the brush of St. Luke.

Byzantine
Madonna.

Rebuilt,
12th c.

The present church was built and consecrated by Alexander III (1159–81), the successor of the English pope, Hadrian IV. Pope Alexander III is distinguished in history for the part he took in the triumph of the Lombard League over the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The impetuous Hohenstaufen had utterly destroyed Milan on the grounds of insubordination and undue independence. A league was thereupon formed by the towns of North Italy, with the encouragement of the pope, for the recovery of their liberty. The imperial troops were defeated in open battle, Milan was rebuilt, and received, with its neighbours, a charter of freedom, the emperor humiliated himself before the pope at Venice, and the papacy and its supporters advanced a step higher. The same pope compelled Henry II of England, the great Plantagenet, to do penance for the murder of Becket. We shall turn with some interest to the mosaic in the semidome, which in its curtailed condition is a memorial of this vigorous papacy. It comes next in date to those of Paschal II and Innocent II, which we have just seen, but differs from them in design and spirit. There is a northern influence in the composition, which suggests that Nicholas Breakspear may have attracted artists to Rome from beyond the Alps. The figures are framed

Mosaic,
12th c.

in Romanesque arches; the Virgin, enthroned and jewelled, is differently posed; the saints, St. James, St. John, St. Peter, and St. Andrew, are unusual. As a work of art it is not a great success, but it seems to imply an art movement elsewhere. There are some

remains of the ever-welcome opus Alexandrinum pavement in the sanctuary. In the second chapel on the right are two tombs,

(1) of Cardinal Bulcano (*d.* 1322), 'an honest bit of Roman work done in Roman stone, and introducing for the first time in a Roman tomb representations of the three Christian graces, Faith, Hope, and Charity.'

His vis-à-vis (2) can claim an equal singularity among Roman sepulchral records in being represented on horseback. He was a warrior, Antonio Rido (*d.* 1457), commander of the papal forces under Nicholas V, and at the time of his death the Castellan of St. Angelo.

But sentimentally the most interesting piece of sculpture in the church is the monument in the right transept, erected to Gregory XI (1370-8) by the people of Rome at the end of the sixteenth century. On the central panel is a bas relief representing the return of the pope from Avignon in 1377 after the seventy years' absence. The pope rides under a canopy, and the figure immediately in front of him, giving him welcome, is Catherine of Siena. In the clouds is a cherub with the papal keys and near an empty chair, which is about to receive its long absent occupant. Catherine of Siena, as a matter of fact, was not present, owing to sickness, but no one had a greater right to be included in the commemoration, for she was largely instrumental in bringing about the return.

The relief is by Olivieri and was executed in 1584. An attractive tabernacle for holy oil, after the manner of Mino da Fiesole, is against the wall of the left transept.

The church received a new dedication when Sta Francesca Romana, a local saint of the fifteenth century,

was buried in it. The campanile is of the twelfth century, a part of Pope Alexander's church, and worthily represents the small band of Roman bell towers, some sixteen in number, which belong to that and the following century.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE first pope of the century was Innocent III (1197-1216), who raised the papacy to its greatest height, and the last was Boniface VIII (1294-1303), who brought it down with a crash.

It may have been to the advantage of Christendom that someone should control such men as Philip Augustus of France and John of England—should compel the one to take back his abandoned wife and the other to appoint a suitable man to the see of Canterbury. But who was to control the controller? Innocent placed both countries under an interdict, and suspended all religious services for a season that he might accomplish his purpose, made John surrender his crown and receive it back from the papal legate, and declared the Magna Charta null and void, because he had not been consulted. He preached a holy war against the Albigenses, and for twenty years allowed men, women, and children to be slaughtered because they had been led away by false teaching. Hildebrand, Innocent, and Boniface, the most active and the ablest of the papal monarchs, went far towards proving the unfitness of any human being to wield the power they claimed. Happily there were men of Innocent's time who tried other methods of dealing with heresy.

Francis of Assisi and Dominic established their mendicant orders during the papacy of Innocent III, the one with the object of carrying the gospel to the homes of the poor, the other to expel ignorance by teaching truth.

Like every other human institution, both lost after a

The papacy
at its
zenith.

Foundation
of the
Franciscan
and Dominican
Orders.

time their original purity of purpose. The Franciscans became avaricious and the Dominicans inquisitorial, but both did an excellent work at first.

The Emperor Frederick II was entirely out of sympathy with the papal policy, and was consequently excommunicated and deposed, sent on crusade and crusaded.

Another abuse of the crusading spirit was the holy war preached against Manfred, King of Sicily, the son of the emperor. He was consequently defeated by Charles of Anjou, by whose orders his young son Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufens, was most cruelly executed. Vengeance followed in the massacre of the French, known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282), and Peter of Aragon received the Sicilian crown. Thus the French held Naples, and the Spaniards Sicily, and the South of Italy was thrown into the crucible of European politics. In 1273 Rudolf of Hapsburg, founder of the imperial house of Austria, was elected emperor and spent an active life in the discharge of his duties north of the Alps.

In 1294 Boniface VIII became pope. He called upon England, France, Germany, and Sicily to lay down their arms and submit their quarrels to his arbitration. Upon their refusal he ordered that taxes should cease to be paid on ecclesiastical property, and that kings who disobeyed him should be deposed. Philip the Fair of France and Edward I of England were summoned to appear before his Curia in Rome. A mission of expostulation was sent from France, accompanied by a member of the Colonna family, whom he had deposed from the cardinalate. Violence was used and the pope was so seriously injured that he died shortly after. The French king in a few years secured the election of a French pope, who took up his residence at Avignon, and Rome was deserted for seventy years.

With such kings as Henry III of Germany, Louis IX of France, and Edward I of England there was every

Sicily taken
by Charles
of Anjou.

Fall of the
papal
monarchy.

The popes at
Avignon.

reason for encouragement as to the future. Circumstances were working out their own settlement as to its form. There were to be separate nationalities, not one empire, many centres—Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin—instead of one, Rome. Progress was to be by rivalry and competition, not by uniformity, and before long it would be found that some countries would demand national churches.

The nations
of Europe.

STA MARIA IN ARA CÆLI

Columns	antique	Crivelli tomb	1432
Old altar	13th and 18th c.	Pinturicchio frescoes	1484
Ambones	12th c.	Ceiling	1575
Pavements	"	Mosaic (East porch)	c. 1300
Savelli tombs	13th c.	Steps	1348
Acquasparta tomb	1302		

The most representative church of the thirteenth century is S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, which has been already visited in connexion with its earlier mosaic.

This church of Sta Maria in Ara Cœli has been in the possession of the Franciscan Order since 1250, almost from the time of their institution, and in this respect may be regarded as a memorial of the century. It goes back to a much earlier date, and being in the very centre of Rome has always been the church of the citizens, as distinguished from the Lateran and Vatican churches of the ecclesiastics. It was used for public meetings in times of excitement, and its walls have heard many things not of the nature of prayer or praise. Within its chapels and under its floor lie the remains of many who have taken a prominent part in the story of medieval Rome, and it still contains many interesting sepulchral records.

The original name of the church was Sta Maria in Campidoglio, which was changed into Sta Maria in Ara Cœli by popular usage in the fourteenth century. It is mentioned under its old name in a document of the ninth century, in which

The church
of the
Franciscans,
1250.

Origin of
Ara Cœli.

reference is also made to an altar erected by Augustus on the Capitol, in consequence of a revelation made by the Tiburtine Sibyl respecting the birth of Christ.

In the thirteenth century an altar was erected in the church to commemorate the legendary Augustan altar, on which were a relief showing Augustus worshipping the Virgin and Child, and an inscription in which the words 'Ara Coeli' are used. A copy of the altar with the inscription is now under the shrine of St. Helen in the left transept. It is supposed that the words 'Ara Coeli' were brought into use in the popular name of the church from this inscription. Professor Huelsen, to whose ingenious paper on this subject this explanation is due, makes a further suggestion as to the origin of the legend that Augustus built such an altar. There is known to have been an altar inscribed with the abbreviated words, 'Fidei Aug. Sacr.,' that is, 'Sacred to august Truth,' and he supposes that these words were read by medieval churchmen as 'Fi[lio] Dei Aug[ustus] sacr[avit],—'Augustus dedicated to the Son of God.'

The original church occupied the site of the present transepts, the altar being where the Cappella di Sta Elena now stands. It was enlarged to its present form in the ninth century, when the extraordinary collection of columns from the temples of Saturn, Vespasian, and Antoninus in the Forum, and from the imperial palace on the Palatine, were brought together. From the last came the third on the left side, which is inscribed with the words 'a cubiculo Augustorum,' and the others have been identified by material and design with columns still remaining in the temples. The church was served by Benedictine monks until 1250, when it was conferred by Pope Innocent IV on the newly instituted mendicant order of St. Francis of Assisi. The Franciscans have, therefore, been here during the whole of their history.

If the church had retained all its monuments the

troubled history of medieval Rome might have been read within its walls. It was the focus of Rienzi's short career in the fourteenth century, and by his suggestion the Scala Santa from the street below was built in honour of the Madonna for deliverance from the plague of 1368. At the foot of these steps the last of the tribunes met his death.

The two ambones have undergone more than one redecoration and restoration. They belonged to the ninth-century church, and possibly to the previous one. when they occupied, no doubt, a place in a schola cantorum, as we see it at S. Clemente. The word ambon, by the way, means a place of ascent, from the Greek 'anabainein' (to go up). They were decorated Cosmati fashion in the thirteenth century, and remodelled later by Renaissance architects.

Much of the original Cosmati pavement remains in the transepts. In a chapel in the right transept are the tombs of the Savelli, to which family Honorius IV (1285-8) belonged. His effigy by Arnolfo di Cambio was brought from the old basilica of St. Peter, and placed on the family tomb. His father, Luca Savelli, succeeded Charles of Anjou as senator of Rome, and another member, Pandolfo, lies in a pagan sarcophagus on the opposite side. In the

Effigy of
Honorius IV
by Arnolfo
di Cambio.

Tomb of
Card.
Acquasparta,
1302.

left transept is the tomb of Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta, general of the Franciscan Order, who died in 1302, the work of Giovanni Cosmas, but deprived of much of its mosaic. Behind the neighbouring ambon is the slab effigy of a queen of Bosnia (d. 1478), a refugee from the victorious Turks. In this transept is a colossal statue, and it is to be hoped a not too flattering likeness, of the Medici pope Leo X. At the ends of the two aisles the statues of two more popes face each other, the Farnese Paul III (1534-49), and Buoncompagni Gregory XIII (1572-85), the reformer of the calendar. The influence of Michael Angelo on portrait sculpture is evident in both. The

Original
church;

enlarged in
the 9th c.

much worn slab effigy of Cardinal Crivelli (*d.* 1432), by Donatello, has been placed against the wall of the main entrance. The chapel of St. Helen is a restoration of the eighteenth century, and the ceiling commemorates the victory of the papal fleet over the Turks at Lepanto in 1575. In the first chapel of the right aisle there are some frescoes by Pinturicchio, representing the life, preaching, and funeral of S. Bernardino of Siena, in commemoration of his success in healing a long-standing feud between the Bagioni and Bufalini families. The decoration of the exterior of the church has never been completed. Outside the door, leading from the east transept, is a thirteenth-century Madonna in mosaic.

Effigy of
Card. Crivelli
by Donatello.

Frescoes by
Pinturicchio.

REVISION

The legend relating to Augustus and the birth of Christ, which found further expression in the Ara Coeli story, sprang from Virgil's so-called Messianic prophecy. A translation of the most important lines of this remarkable poem is given on a front leaf of this book. It was attributed in medieval times to knowledge derived from the Sibylline books, but the poet was more probably inspired by conversation with members of the Jewish colony in Rome. He may even have had access to the writings of Isaiah through the same source. Churchmen of the Middle Ages were fond of discovering links between their own and the pagan religions, as may be seen by the union of Hebrew prophets and classic sibyls in all periods of art, and in the 'teste David cum Sibylla' line of the Franciscan penitential hymn. They possessed the germ of the wider vision expressed by our own poet, who saw the consummation of all history in the 'one far off divine event to which the whole creation moves.'

Virgil's
Messianic
prophecy.

Prophets and
sibyls in art.

Dies iræ,
dies illa.

Tennyson's 'In
Memoriam.'

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

BONIFACE VIII (1295-1303) instituted the jubilee and invited members of the Church to its first celebration in the year 1300. More than a million pilgrims made their way to Rome under the promise of plenary indulgence. Amongst the visitors were Dante and Giotto, the founders of Italian literature and art and the heralds of the new dawn. Three years later the pope had fallen in the unequal contest with the French monarch, and Rome ceased to be the papal residence for seventy years. The pre-eminent position of the papacy and of the city received its death blow. At Avignon the popes and cardinals led a life of ease and luxury under the eye of the French king, during which national sentiment in other countries was growing. A conspicuous consequence of the papal subordination to France was the cruel dissolution of the order of

The first
jubilee, 1300.

Dissolution of
the Knights
Templars.

Knights Templars and the confiscation of its great wealth. In the domain of art Rome was robbed of the share it might otherwise have had in the Renaissance movement by the withdrawal of wealth and patronage and the consequent dispersal of its artists. The city dwindled in numbers and prestige and again became the victim of unscrupulous brigands of the upper class. In the middle of the century Cola di Rienzi played his little drama, predestined to failure if only on account of the incompetence of its author. He was a strange mixture of noble ideas, intolerable vanity, inadequate mental powers, and, it is charitable to suppose, a certain amount of irresponsibility.

Rienzi.

Henry VII of Luxemburg, elected king of Germany in 1308 and crowned in Rome by a cardinal legate in 1312, made an attempt to revive the Holy Roman Empire. Dante's dream that this was to be the solution of all difficulties was

Henry of
Luxemburg
crowned in
Rome, 1312.

frustrated by the emperor's death, probably by poison, before he had left Italy.

Sicily remained in the hands of Spanish princes and was eventually united to Aragon. The kingdom of Naples, on the other hand, became a bone of contention between Aragon and Anjou and a consequent cause for interference by the royal houses of France and Spain. England and France were engaged in their hundred years' war, the Flemish and Italian cities were becoming centres of wealth and art, the Swiss were carrying out their movement for independence, and the Dukes of Burgundy were laying the foundations of a great house.

While new powers were springing up all round them, the popes were destroying the little influence that remained to them. Urban VI (1378-89), the first pope elected after the return to Rome, gave such offence to the French cardinals that they set up an antipope. For another seventy years the chair had sometimes two and sometimes three claimants. Councils were held and protests were made, but without effect.

Papal
schisms.

STA MARIA SOPRA MINERVA

Tomb of Bishop Durandus	13th c.	Tomb of Cardinal Tebaldi	15th c.
" " St. Catherine of Siena	14th c.	M. Angelo's Risen Christ	16th c.
" " Fra Angelico	15th c.	" " Clement VII	"
Frescoes of Filippino Lippi	"	" " Card. Bembo	"
Tomb of Francesco Tornabuoni	"	" " Paul IV	"
		" " Urban VII	"

The church (Plan xii 1) stands on the site of an old temple of Minerva, and was entirely rebuilt at the end of the thirteenth century in the Gothic style. Nicholas III (1277-80), a member of the Orsini family, soon after his election to the papal chair, made great changes in the civil administration of Rome. With the object of getting rid of the influence of Charles of Anjou he drew up a new

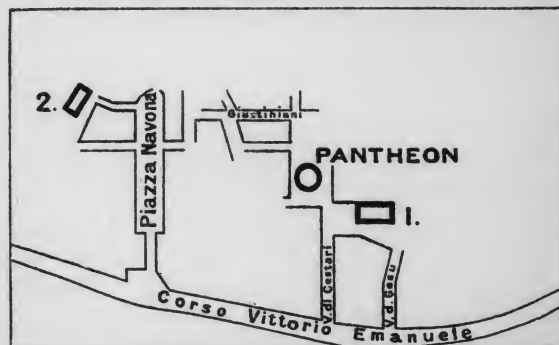
Rebuilt at
the end of
the 13th c.

constitution, by which the government of the city was placed in the hands of the local families, the Orsini, Colonna, Savelli, &c. The rebuilding of this church was apparently connected with the new order of things,

as the leading citizens contributed to the cost. It was designed by Dominican architects from Florence, who brought with them the Gothic style, which they had just introduced into

In the
Gothic
style.

PLAN XII.—CHURCHES NEAR THE PANTHEON



1. Sta Maria Sopra Minerva

2. Sta Maria della Pace

that city in the church of Sta Maria Novella. A century later, in 1370, the church was given by the senate and people to the Dominican Order, who made it their headquarters. In consequence of this it became later the seat of the Inquisition at Rome, and within the walls of the monastery attached to it Giordano Bruno was condemned to death for heresy in 1600, and Galileo was sentenced to confinement for three years in the Villa Medici in 1633. E pur si muove.

Italian Gothic is seldom free from a mixture of classical and Romanesque details. No attempt was made to construct a Gothic exterior, but internally the main impression is distinctly of a Gothic character.

The arches are pointed, ceiling vaulted, columns composite, windows geometrical. But in minor matters the style is not followed. The capitals are classical, the vaulting almost, and the side chapels altogether, Romanesque and classical.

The church is mainly interesting for its tombs. In the fourth chapel of the right aisle is the tomb of Urban VII, who died in 1590 after a papacy of thirteen days, and in the next chapel those of the father and mother of Clement VIII (1591-1605), members of the Aldobrandini family. We have seen the tomb of the pope himself amid the gorgeous surroundings of the Borghese chapel in Sta Maria Maggiore. At the

Filippino
Lippi's
frescoes.

end of the right transept is the chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas, the great Dominican theologian. The brush of Filippino Lippi was employed to glorify the angelic doctor. In the lunette of the right wall the saint hears his writings praised by a voice which comes from the crucifix, and, underneath, the heretics, whom he has confounded, look wistfully at their demolished writings. The assumption of the Virgin on the altar wall is badly damaged.

Tomb of
Paul IV.

Against the left wall is the tomb of Paul IV (1555-9), a zealous inquisitor, inventor of the index expurgatorius and founder of the Ghetto, who saw in his four years' papacy the loss of England and of the greater part of Germany, and the concentration of Roman interests in the hands of

Tomb of
Bishop
Durandus,
1296.

Philip II of Spain. In a dark corner of this transept is the oldest and most artistic of the tombs in the church, that of Bishop Durandus (*d.* 1296), the earliest of the sepulchral monuments of Giovanni Cosmas. We have already seen those of Cardinal Gonsalvo Rodriguez in Sta Maria Maggiore, Cardinal Stefano Surdi in Sta Balbina, and Cardinal Acquasparta in Ara Coeli by this artist. They are all four sleeping figures with folded arms, guarded by angels, simple, peaceful, dignified, the work of an artist who merged himself and his

technique in his subject. Under the high altar lie the remains of St. Catherine of Siena, the Dominican nun of Siena, who spent the last years of her wonderful life (1) in persuading Gregory XI to re-establish the papacy in Rome, and (2) in urging his successor, Urban VI, to remain there.

Tomb of
Catherine of
Siena.

In the choir behind the altar are the imposing tombs of the two Medici popes, Leo X (1513-21), and Clement VII (1523-34), and on the floor that of Cardinal Bembo, the friend of

Tombs of
Leo X and
Clement VII.

Raphael. Leo, by his sale of indulgences, provoked Martin Luther to action. In 1517 the monk began the revolt by nailing his thesis to the church door of Wittenberg, and in 1521, the year of Leo's death, he stood before the diet at Worms. Clement, by supporting France against Germany, brought upon Rome a worse experience than the Vandal invasion at the hands of the Constable de Bourbon and, after being imprisoned himself, had to crown Charles V at Bologna.

M. Angelo's
'Risen Christ.'

Outside the choir, on the left of the altar, is M. Angelo's statue of the risen Christ, a disappointing work manipulated by incompetent sculptors. The next chapel has been converted into a passage, and against the left wall is the slab tomb with effigy of Fra Angelico, the Dominican

Tomb of
Fra Angelico.

Tombs of
Francesco
Tornabuoni
and Cardinal
Tibaldi.

painter of Florence, who died in this monastery in 1455, during his engagement at the Vatican under Pope Nicholas V. In the fourth chapel of the left aisle are the Maffei tombs with a figure of St. Sebastian near the altar, and at the end of the aisle two tombs by great artists, (1) of Francesco Tornabuoni by Mino da Fiesole and (2) of Cardinal Tebaldi by Andrea Verrochio, which have been badly used and are badly placed.

The fourteenth century was a very sad one for Rome, owing to the absence of the popes at Avignon.

Revision.

The progress of civilisation in the whole of Western Europe was advancing by leaps and bounds, while Rome was losing population and wealth.

While Florence, Milan, and the smaller cities of northern Italy were passing through the most glorious period of their history and producing works of art which were bringing them world-wide renown, Rome was lying in a condition of absolute helplessness. When her time of revival came she had to send to Florence for craftsmen. It was not because her citizens were inartistic, but because there were no patrons of art during the most critical century, that Rome took no part in the Renaissance.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE collapse of the papal monarchy in the early years of the fourteenth century was an indication that the new European nationalities were ready to manage their own affairs. Western civilisation had left its cradle. After the death of Henry VII the emperors began to take less interest in the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire, though the imperial title went on until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The popes were still spiritual heads of western Christendom, with considerable wealth, extensive patronage of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, and sovereign power over central Italy. The unfortunate schism through which two, and sometimes three, claimed the title at the same time, went on until 1429, when the election of Martin V at the Council of Constance was accepted by all parties. The same Council, by burning John Huss the Reformer, sounded the first note of the coming struggle. The world was passing through great changes. The growth of education was much accelerated by the new printing press,

Rome ceases
to lead
Europe.

The papal
schism
brought
to an end.

The first note
of the
Reformation.

and the study of Greek by the fall of Constantinople in 1452, which drove numbers of Greek teachers westward. The discovery of the New World and the improvements in navigation gave a new outlet for human energy and a wider horizon. One effect was to produce a phase of scepticism in religious matters, more especially in the intellectual world of Italy. The movement known as humanism was largely tinged with infidelity. The ranks of the higher clergy were recruited from this class which produced such popes as the nepotist Sixtus IV, the profligate Alexander VI, the martial Julius II, and the dilettante Leo X. In Spain, Aragon and Castile had been united by marriage, and in 1492 the advance of Granada, the last Mahometan possession, came into their hands by conquest. The kingdom of Spain, so long excluded from Europe, in the next century sprang into the foremost place.

The hundred years' war between France and England was over, and, having annexed Provence and Burgundy, the former was looking across the Italian border. In 1492 Charles VIII claimed Naples as the representative of the House of Anjou. He marched through Pisa and Florence, where he was hailed by Savonarola as sent by God, entered Rome without opposition and Naples with acclamation. He created a disturbance without any apparent gain, and set in motion a crowd of conflicting interests, with which the future had to deal.

French
interferences
in Italy.

STA MARIA DEL POPOLO

Tomb of Card. Cristoforo della Rovere	d. 1477	Tomb of Bishop Rocca	d. 1482
" " Domenico	d. 1501	" " Gomial	d. 1482
" " de Castro	d. 1506	Card. Ascanio Sforza	d. 1505
" " Costa	d. 1508	" Basso della Rovere	d. 1507
" Marcantonio Albertoni	d. 1485	" Mellini	d. 1478
" Card. Podocatharo	d. 1504	Stained glass Chigi chapel	

The ashes of Nero were buried on the site of this church, and in due course a walnut tree covered it.

Some crows frequenting the tree were suspected of uncanny connexions with the deceased emperor.

Early church
over Nero's
grave.

Rebuilt in
1227,

and in
1480.

The tree was cut down and a chapel built in its place. In 1227 Gregory IX built a church and brought to it from the Lateran the miracle-working Madonna, which still hangs behind the high altar. In 1480 Sixtus IV, the first of the Della Rovere popes, erected the present building in the Renaissance style, and his nephew, Julius II (1503-13), completed its decoration. Few churches at this time can have been more attractive, but Bernini and his followers turned its cornices and arches into resting-places for female saints in ungainly postures. More recent decorators have covered its composite pillars with veined stucco, to make the church bright and gay—according to the sacristan.

For some forty years after its erection it was the burial-place of wealthy cardinals, whose tombs are now its chief attraction. In the first chapel of the right aisle are two brothers in one tomb—two out of seven relatives

Tombs of
Cardinals
Cristoforo and
Domenico
della Rovere.

raised to the College of Cardinals by the builder of the church, Sixtus IV. The elder, Cristoforo della Rovere, died in 1477, his brother Domenico in 1501 after preparing the tomb for both; the sculptor Andrea Bregno excelled himself and produced a work which will bear comparison with the best. Its opposite

Tomb of
Cardinal de
Castro.

neighbour, that of Cardinal de Castro (*d.* 1506), cannot be so highly praised, as it suffers from the restlessness which worked such havoc in Roman art. De Castro was a rich dyer of Constantinople, who came to Italy after the fall of the eastern empire. His discovery of the alum deposits near Civita Vecchia, which brought a splendid income to the papal treasury for the next three centuries, was rewarded with sinecure benefices and the dignity of the red hat. The attractive altar piece, a charming nativity group with a pleasing though overcrowded background of buildings, trees, and distant hills, is by

Altar piece
by
Pinturicchio.

Pinturicchio, who also filled the lunettes with scenes from the life of St. Jerome. The second chapel contains the tombs of two members of the Cibo family, nepotic cardinals created by Innocent VIII (1484-92). It is a museum of polished

Tombs of
Cardinals
Cibo.

marbles, very beautiful and very costly, but not artistic. The third chapel is decorated in the Pinturicchio manner, but probably not by the master; it has been allowed to become shabby and dingy, though it contains

Tomb of John
della Rovere.

the tomb of John della Rovere (*d.* 1483), the husband of Sixtus IV's sister, who apparently was not an ecclesiastic. His episcopal neighbour is commemorated by an effigy in bronze. Cardinal Costa

Tomb of
Cardinal
Costa.

(*d.* 1508), who lies in the next chapel, was one of the Spanish supporters of the Borgia family and held six bishoprics, eight deaneries,

and twenty-six abbacies. He could well afford to decorate this chapel and commission Andrea Bregno to design a fitting memorial for so expansive a churchman. His neighbour, the young Roman knight Marcantonio Albertoni, whose effigy is

Marcantonio
Albertoni.

so suggestive of peaceful repose, was less fortunate in his earthly career, being cut off by the plague in his thirtieth year in 1485. In the end chapel on the right of the

Grave of the
Duke of
Gandia.

high altar the young Duke of Gandia, son of Alexander VI (Borgia), was buried in the vault of his mother Vanozza. His murder,

which, according to the general belief at the time, was the act of his brother Cesare, created an enormous sensation in an age which was not squeamish in such matters. In the choir behind the high altar are

Tombs of
Cardinals
Sforza and
Basso della
Rovere.

the monuments of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza (*d.* 1505) and Cardinal Basso della Rovere (*d.* 1507) by Andrea Sansovino, who has injured his deservedly high reputation as a sculptor by disturbing the pose of his effigies. The former was a Milanese, nephew of Galeazzo and Ludovico il Moro, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Rivalla in 1500. The latter, one of the seven cardinal nephews

of Sixtus IV, did good work as a bishop. The stained glass windows of the choir, procured from France by Julius II (1503-13), are a pleasant innovation in a Roman church. In the sacristy, approached from the choir, are a good Florentine tabernacle and two tombs,

Tombs of
Bishops
Rocca and
Gomiel.

(1) Bishop Rocca (*d.* 1482), with an excellent relief of the crucifixion, by Andrea Bregno, and (2) Bishop Gomiel, another of the Borgia's Spanish followers. In the adjoining lavabo

is a small early relief of St. Augustine and his mother, Sta Monica. In the left transept, in addition to the slab

Tomb of
Card. Lonati.

tombs, which remain on the floor here, and in other parts of the church, mostly of fifteenth-century work and much worn, is the tomb of Cardinal Lonati (*d.* 1497), an elaborate structure with figures and reliefs. In the third chapel

Effigy of
Card. Mellini.

is the sarcophagus with effigy of Cardinal G. Mellini (*d.* 1478), transferred from St. Peter's at the time of the rebuilding. Though made a canon of St. John's Lateran at the age of seven by the notorious John XXIII, he became an exemplary ecclesiastic in spite of his surroundings. The adjacent chapel is the structural gem of the church, the design of Raphael for the famous banker, Agostino Chigi chapel.

The pyramid tombs, aggressive in colour and incongruous in form, and the baroque decorations of the Bernini school, kill the pure lines and delicate carving of the original work. With cupola mosaics and pictures in the places intended for them, the chapel would have been a thing of beauty. The statue

Tomb of
Cardinal
Pallavicini.

of Jonah is attributed to Raphael, but it can only be said to be the best of the four. In the last chapel are another tomb from St. Peter's—that of the Spanish cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini (*d.* 1501)—and two tabernacles for holy oil.

It is not without significance that it was in the monastery attached to this church that Martin Luther lodged when he visited Rome in 1510. It is said that he fell on his knees at his first sight of the city which he

regarded as the sacred centre of Christendom; but before leaving it he had changed his mind.

STA MARIA DELLA PACE

Design of the church	15th c.	Bramante's cloister	16th c
Raphael's Sibyls	16th c.	M. Angelo's chapel	"
Peruzzi's fresco	"		

This church (Plan xii. 2), like Sta Maria del Popolo, was built by Sixtus IV (1471-84), whose schemes included the enrichment of his relatives, the decoration of the Vatican, the cultivation of the Campagna and the improvement of Rome. He started life in a fisherman's cottage and ended it on the fisherman's throne, spent the greater part of his ministry under a Franciscan cowl, and for the last eleven years wore the papal tiara. His aggrandisement of his family roused the jealousy

of the nobles, which resulted in an appeal to arms; a battle was fought at Campo Morto, and the settlement was celebrated by the erection of this church dedicated to the Madonna of Peace. For grace of design and beauty of proportions it is not excelled in Renaissance Rome, but it has been unfortunately marred by later extravagances of decoration and modern tawdriness.

The banker, Agostino Chigi, commissioned Raphael to paint the wall above the arch next to the main entrance. The extraordinary fertility of the artist's imagination was never displayed more successfully in the conception of a design suited to the space at his disposal. The Genius of Prophecy divides the groups, each consisting of two Sibyls receiving their messages from angels. The Tiburtine Sibyl to the right, the oldest in years, is receiving the oracle quoted by Virgil in his fourth eclogue. To cover the widening space one Sibyl on either side turns to a seated angel above, while over the other two an angel floating in space carries the inspired oracle. The easy and harmonious flow of lines, the beauty of

Raphael's
Sibyls.

figure and face, and the sobriety of colour and expression are characteristic of the artist who assimilated the excellences of many of the great painters of his day.

In the next chapel Michael Angelo's design has been almost buried by over-ornate surroundings, and in the last chapel, on the opposite side, the greater portion of an excellent fresco by Baldassare Peruzzi has been recently rescued from a superimposed covering. It represents the Madonna and Child with St. Catherine and St. Bridget, and the donor, Cardinal Ponzetti, whose family monuments are placed on either side of the recess. One of them records the death of two sisters carried off in one day by the plague in 1505. The cloister of the adjacent monastery was designed by Bramante in the classical style, which hardly bears comparison with the earlier Romanesque conceptions of Vasalletus at the Lateran and St. Paul's.

The election to the papacy of men like Sixtus IV did much to forward the cause of the Reformation.

But we must not forget that he was a man of his age and that his moral standard was that of his contemporaries. The names of Bramante, Raphael, and Michael Angelo illustrate the poverty of Rome and the wealth of Florence in art at this time. These are the first-fruits of the new civilisation, the early results of the long struggle in which Rome had borne a foremost part. It seems right that they should come and decorate the paternal home before they set up house for themselves.

S. PIETRO IN VINCOLI

Columns	antique	Tomb of Card. N. di Cusa	15th c.
Episcopal chair		Panel	"
Mosaic of St. Sebastian	7th c.	Monument of the Pol-	"
Altar in sacristy	13th c.	lauioli	16th c.
Tomb of Bishop Bussi	15th c.	M. Angelo's Moses	"

This is one of Rome's oldest churches, built by Eudoxia, consort of Valentinian III, in 442 for the

chains of St. Peter brought by her mother from Jerusalem. It carries us back to the papacy of Leo the Great and to the invasion of the Vandals, of which Eudoxia had unpleasant personal experiences, for she was carried off to Africa by Genseric. The story is that the chains which bound St. Peter in Rome were brought near those from Jerusalem, and at once formed a miraculous junction. They are exposed now as one chain in a gold reliquary over the altar of the confessio.

It is a fine church on a magnificent site, of which the architect has not made the best use. The plan of the church, colonnades and archivolt, apse and short transept, is that of the fifth century.

The wide nave, with fluted Doric columns of striped marble from Hymettus, is decidedly impressive. It will be noticed that the transept has not yet developed into the arms of a Latin cross, and that the aisles enter it through arches, which were probably narrower as in St. Paul's outside the walls. An old marble seat, probably also from a pagan building, does duty as an episcopal chair in the middle of the apse, with simple wooden sedilia on either side. Over an altar, in the middle of the left aisle, is a mosaic of the seventh century representing St. Sebastian. Its story is told in a fresco on the left of the entrance door. The city was visited by a plague in 680, and it was revealed to someone that it was owing to the prevalent neglect of St. Sebastian's remains. This communication was carried to Pope Agatho (678-82), with the result that the relics of the holy martyr were brought with ceremony to this church, to the confusion of the evil angel, who is being restrained by the good one, as may be seen in the upper and lower divisions of the fresco. The Sebastian type, with which later art has familiarised us, had not yet been adopted. The Greek artist employed on this mosaic seems to have been more familiar with the artistic representation of St. Peter. Its especial interest, however,

Early church
of the 5th c.

St. Peter's
chains.

Original plan
retained.

Episcopal
chair.

Mosaic of
7th c.

is that St. Sebastian became henceforth one of the chief plague saints. Lower down in the same aisle is

the slab effigy of Cardinal Nicholas di Cusa St. Sebastian a plague saint. (*d.* 1464), titular of this church. Those who

know the Moselle Valley will remember the Effigy of Card. di Cusa. picturesque village of Cues, in which

the good bishop was born of humble parents. He did excellent work in his day and was an honest literary critic at a time when many of the Church documents were being assailed. He was one of the first to suspect the genuineness of the Forged Decretals. The coloured panel near his tomb, with an excellent portrait of the kneeling prelate on one side, and a well-executed angel of deliverance on the other, was his offering to

the patron saint of his church. The slab

Effigy of Bishop Bussi. effigy of Bishop Bussi (*d.* 1475), whom the artist has successfully represented as having

fallen on sleep, compensates for the death's head and crossbones memorial of Cardinal Aldobrandini near the Sebastian altar. Under the plague fresco

is the modest monument of the brothers Monument of the Pollaiuoli. Pollaiuoli, who had been brought to Rome to

execute the monuments of Sixtus IV (1471-84) and Innocent VIII (1484-92), which are amongst the most valuable art works in St. Peter's. The brothers worked together, and the elder of them, Antonio, was an enthusiastic student of perspective and anatomy. An example of his work illustrating these sciences is the 'Martyrdom of St. Sebastian' in the London National Gallery. He held a good position amongst the Florentine artists as painter, sculptor, and bronze worker.

The restorers of the church in the fifteenth century were two of its titular cardinals, uncle and nephew,

with whom the church has ever since been identified. These were Sixtus IV (1471-84) and Julius II (1503-13). Restored in the 15th c. Francesco della

Sixtus IV. Rovere, who reached the papal chair under the first of these titles, was the son of a fisherman of Savona, whose family 'in thirty years provided

two popes and seven cardinals, two city prefects and a Lord of Forli, made marriages with the royal house of Naples, with the Sforzas and Dukes of Urbino, sprinkled the map of Italy and France with archbishops, bishops and abbots, &c.' He was the builder of the churches of Sta Maria del Popolo and Sta Maria della Pace, and of the Sistine chapel, in the decoration of which he employed Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Pinturicchio, Perugino, and Signorelli, and is buried in St. Peter's under Pollaiuolo's masterpiece. The oak tree of the Della Rovere family carved over the entrance door of this church, and prominent in many places in Rome, was planted by Francesco.

His nephew, Julius II, with whose features Raphael has made us familiar, played a greater part in the European drama. He was a strong man, a great

Julius II. ruler, an able warrior, fitted for any position of authority but that of pope. His great aim was to restore the temporal power. He led his armies in person, was the instigator of the League of Cambrai against Venice, and the cause of its collapse when he had gained his end, made alliances with all the great Powers, and broke them when it suited him, and ended by being the most powerful man in Italy. His active interference in European politics facilitated the disintegration of Christendom a few years after his death.

His tomb, which in its unfinished state is the great attraction of this church, is a monument of his character as of his life. In one of his ambitious dreams

Tomb of Julius II. he commissioned Michael Angelo to design

a tomb, which should be the main feature of the contemplated new St. Peter's. It was to be commensurate with the greatness of the papacy and of the ruling pope. The design was completed and approved, but the impetuous pope had other schemes for the immediate attention of the great artist. After wasting his time at Carrara in choosing suitable blocks for the tomb he was set to work on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel. The result was that a very small portion

of the tomb was completed, and it was decided to erect this in the church of which Julius had been titular cardinal. The central figure, that of the warrior-prophet Moses, suitably representing in the eyes of his contemporaries the warrior-pope Julius, was all that was finished by the master's hand. The statues of Rachel and Leah, the life of contemplation and the life of action, were from his studio, but other chisels gave the finishing touch. The effigy of the pope himself, and the so-called Sibyl, and the prophet Elijah, are miserable travesties by an inferior sculptor. Happily the statue of Moses is worthy of the reputation which stands second to none in the whole history of art, and is perhaps the most characteristic work of its author. It is certainly difficult to name another who could have done it. In conception and execution, as a whole and in detail, in breadth of treatment and minute finish, it is equally remarkable. Intellectual power, physical vigour, spiritual exaltation are evident and seem to be on the verge of active expression; some great emotion is calling them into play; scorn, indignation, anger are welling up, and we are left to wonder what will happen.

In the sacristy we may see the kind of work turned out of the church in the sixteenth-century restoration.

The simple beauty of the Cosmati altar, pavement, and marble panels was eschewed for the surfeit of costly marbles round the confessio, for the plaster ugliness of the ceiling, for the panelled clerestory, and the square windows of commonplace domesticity.

S. ONOFRIO

Pinturicchio's frescoes	16th c.	Tomb of Tasso	
Baldassare Peruzzi's frescoes	"	"	Card. Mezzofanti 19th c.
Tomb of Cardinal Sacco	"	"	

The church was built during the papacy of Eugenius IV (1431-47) by the founder of the order

of St. Jerome. The most important event of the long and troubled papacy, of which it may be considered a memorial, was the attempt to unite eastern and western Christendom. Since the days of Constantine there had been two Churches, and the division had been accentuated by the revolt of Rome from the empire and its union with the Franks in the eighth century. The alleged reason had always been the insertion of the words *filioque* in the clause of the Nicene Creed relating to the procession of the Holy Ghost, to which the eastern Church objected on theological grounds. But the real reason was the objection on the part of the West to the political supremacy of the East, and on the part of the East to the spiritual supremacy of the West. For many centuries Constantinople had been the bulwark of Europe against the Mahometan power, and had been most shamefully neglected by those who had profited by its valiant defence. It had become evident, however, that without help the city could not hold out much longer. At the Council of Florence the question of the union of the Churches was discussed in the presence of the emperor and patriarch of the East, and the breach was apparently healed. But as no substantial assistance followed, the agreement was repudiated and Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1452. The main attractions of the church are the frescoes of Pinturicchio and Baldassare Peruzzi in the apse. The upper series, by the former, consists of the coronation of the Virgin, with angels, apostles and sibyls, and those below, by the latter, of the Madonna and saints, adoration of the magi, and the flight into Egypt.

A century and a half after its erection the church was associated with the pathetic death of the poet Tasso, who had been summoned to Rome to receive the laureate's crown. The ceremony had been postponed for some reason, and before it

A fifteenth-century church.

The eastern and western Churches.

Attempted union.

Frescoes of Pinturicchio and Peruzzi.

Tomb of Tasso.

Michael Angelo's Moses.

was performed the poet was taken ill and died in this monastery (1594). His body has been moved to the first chapel on the left and a monument and statue erected by Pius IX. In the next chapel is the tomb of Cardinal Mezzofanti, who died in 1849 after attaining a world-wide fame as a linguist. On the opposite side of the church is the sixteenth-century tomb of Cardinal Sacco, with a Madonna and Child by Pinturicchio in the lunette above.

Tomb of
Card.
Mezzofanti.

S. PIETRO IN MONTORIO

Bramante's tempietto	16th c.	Beatrice Cenci's grave	16th c.
Sebastiano del Piombo's		Tomb of Archbishop of	
frescoes	"	Ragusa	"
Guido Reni's picture	"		

The church is a memorial of the new power which rose rapidly to predominance in Europe at the time Rome was losing its hold on the northern nations. Like Constantinople in the east, Spain had been the European bulwark against Mahometan aggression in the west. But it had been at the expense of the greater part of its territory. From the eighth century the Christian kingdoms of Spain had maintained themselves in the northern mountains and had kept the Moors, who held the country to the south, from further advance. Since the thirteenth century the Christians had been steadily pushing the infidels southwards, until Granada, the last Mahometan possession, was acquired in 1492. Twenty years earlier the crowns of Castile and Aragon had been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, who thereby laid the foundation of Spain's greatness.

The Emperor Maximilian had married the daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and their son, Philip, married Joan, the daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella. Through these alliances Charles, the son of Philip and Joan, inherited Spain, which included Navarre and the two Sicilies,

the Netherlands now represented by Belgium and Holland, and, through the death of his father, was the heir of the Emperor Maximilian. On the death of the latter in 1519 he was elected emperor, and held a position in Europe unequalled by any monarch since the days of Charlemagne. The uncompromising attitude of Charles and of his son Philip II, the husband of England's Queen Mary, towards the Reformation was responsible in no small degree for the papal policy.

S. Pietro in Montorio was built for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the grandparents of Charles V, in 1474. It was the witness in its early days of strange sights in Rome. In 1494 the French king, Charles VIII, marched through the Porta del Popolo at the head of his troops, unopposed but against the will of the pope, on his way to take possession of the throne of Naples, which he claimed as heir of Anjou. The church of Sta Trinita dei Monti, on the top of the Spanish steps, was erected by the French monarch as a memento of his visit. In 1527 the Janiculan hill was the headquarters of the Constable de Bourbon, who brought forty thousand German and Spanish troops to punish Clement VII (1523-34) for the part he had taken against Charles V in the battle of Pavia. The constable himself fell during the attack on the castle of S. Angelo, shot, it is said, by Benvenuto Cellini, but his troops wrought terrible havoc in the city. The unfortunate pope, three years later, was called upon to place the imperial crown on the head of Charles at Bologna.

The church consists of choir, transept, and nave, with small side chapels, spoilt as usual by the florid modern decoration. In the first chapel to the right is a sombre representation of the Flagellation by Sebastian del Piombo, and on either side of the arch a prophet and sibyl clearly inspired by Michael Angelo. The attraction of the church for many years was Raphael's 'Transfiguration,' now in the Vatican gallery, and

Charles V
elected
emperor.

replaced in the choir by a copy of Guido Reni's 'Crucifixion of St. Peter.' The selection of this subject is

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was employed during his sojourn in Rome in connexion with the rebuilding of St. Peter's to commemorate the death of the apostle by a monument on the alleged site. The two-storied circular

*Bramante's
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chapel with external colonnade and dome, which he built in the cloister, marks, it is

said, a turning-point in the architect's professional life, due to the influence of his Roman studies.

Near the entrance door of the church is the tomb of St. Julian, archbishop of Ragusa (1510), a work of some merit but showing the coming change in the pose of the effigy; and on the left side of the altar is the grave of Beatrice Cenci, whose sad story always appeals to the sympathy of Roman visitors. The piazza in front of the church, from which an admirable view of Rome, with the Sabine and Alban hills for a background, can be obtained, was formed at the expense of Philip III of Spain.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

IN this century Italy, instead of being the arbiter of national quarrels, became their theatre. Louis XII of

*France and
Spain fight
in Italy.*

France, following Charles VIII, laid claim to the duchy of Milan, and Ferdinand of Spain became king of the two Sicilies. In

a contest between the two France defeated Spain at Ravenna, and was defeated in turn at Pavia. In subsequent complications Rome itself was sacked

*Rome sacked
by Spain.*

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been succeeded by his grandson, who, uniting Spain,

the two Sicilies, and the Netherlands by ancestral inheritance, was elected emperor under the title of Charles V,

on the death of his other grandfather, Maximilian I. He was crowned at Bologna in 1530 by Clement VII, who had been imprisoned by his troops three years earlier.

But a far more serious conflict began in the first years of the century, which completely changed the position of Rome and the papacy in Europe.

*The
Reformation.*

The new learning did not make all men sceptics. It was used to read the books of the New Testament in their original language, and many were disturbed to find that they could not reconcile many of the doctrines of the Church with its teaching. A growing demand for explanation and reform came from all sides, but it fell on unsympathetic ears. Curiously enough the last straw came from the building of the basilica of St. Peter, which eventually cost ten millions sterling. Leo X (1513-22) conceived the idea of raising money by the sale of indulgences, which brought him into collision with Martin Luther. The end was the withdrawal of the protesting countries from allegiance

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Charles V crowned.

The Reformation.

Rome keeps the Latin races.

BASILICA OF ST. PETER

Giotto's navicella
 Jubilee door
 Bronze entrance doors
 Coronation stone
 M. Angelo's Pietà
 Spiral column
 Mon. of Christina, Queen of Sweden
 " " Matilda, Countess of Tuscany
 Pollaiuolo's mon. of Sixtus IV
 Mosaic altar pictures
 St. Peter's chair
 Altars of the four Leos
 Mon. of Alexander VII
 Altar of Gregory the Great
 Thorwaldsen's Pius VII

Pollaiuolo's Innocent VIII
 Canova's tomb of the Stuarts
 Hadrian's sarcophagus lid
 Bronze statue of St. Peter
 Pillars of the dome and relics
 Confessio
 Canova's Pius VI

SACRISTY

Statues of the two apostles
 Fluted columns
 Giotto's pictures
 Melozzo da Forlì's angels
 Charlemagne's dalmatic
 Antique church furniture
 Work of Benvenuto Cellini

The basilica of St. Peter is an appropriate memorial of the conclusion of Rome's leadership of Western Christendom. It is a magnificent building, full of historical, architectural, and artistic interest, and yet more disappointing than attractive. It contains the work of the greatest artists of the new civilisation, overlaid with that of the most pretentious. It towers above every other church in cost, size, and splendour, but is as suggestive of man's weakness as of his strength, and is in this respect an epitome of the story it completes.

Nicholas V (1447-55) conceived the idea of replacing the old buildings by a palace, library, and cathedral worthy of the importance of the papal position. He began the existing Vatican palace and employed Fra Angelico to decorate his rooms. His library still holds its pre-eminent position in the literary world, but his cathedral plans came to nothing. Julius II (1509-13), half a century later, commissioned Bramante to begin a new basilica, and M. Angelo to design a magnificent tomb for himself, which was to be its chief ornament. The unfinished tomb we have seen in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. The cathedral plans were so vast, and the interruptions so frequent, that more than a

century elapsed between the foundation stone and the consecration in 1626. The designs of the first architects were changed by the later ones, and a form of decoration was adopted which they would not have tolerated. Bramante, Raphael, and M. Angelo, who were its architects in succession, worked on a building in the form of a Greek cross surmounted by a central dome, and the church was almost completed on this plan. Twenty years before it was finished it was decided by Paul V (1605-21) to lengthen the nave by the addition of two bays. It is of interest to recall in this connexion that Sir Christopher Wren's first design for St. Paul's, London, was in the form of a Greek cross, and that the alteration was made to meet the wishes of the building committee. The seventeenth-century decorations were even more disastrous than the change of plan. The allegorical figures on the arcade cornices, the exaggerated cupids on the walls, the garish colour of some of the marble panelling, the flamboyant baldacchino over the high altar, and the over-elaborate setting of St. Peter's chair, give the interior a theatrical appearance, which is out of harmony with its sacred purpose. It is impressive owing to its size and to the simplicity of its main lines of architecture, but it is singularly deficient in its appeal to the religious sense.

The external effect of the dome, which was M. Angelo's main contribution, was nullified, from a near point of view, by the lengthening of the nave, and the consequent alteration of the portico. Maderna's façade has nothing to recommend it. With abundance of space at his disposal he made the vestibule too narrow and the pediment too small, and for some unaccountable reason half buried his columns. To this he added an ugly upper screen, with windows of a domestic type and a row of ungainly figures. Credit is due to Bernini for the circular colonnade and grand sweep of steps, which go far to redeem the frontage. They are distinctly impressive at all times, and on ceremonial occasions are just what is needed.

The vestibule contains the mosaic navicella, which Giotto made for the former church, but restored beyond recognition, and one or two early inscriptions.

Giotto's
navicella.

The entrances are flanked by pavonazetto columns from a pagan temple, thus keeping up the link with imperial Rome to the end, and the blocked jubilee doorway is framed in porta santa marble. The

central bronze doors were presented by Pope

Bronze doors.

Eugenius IV (1431-8) to old St. Peter's, and are the work of Filarete, a Florentine bronze worker of no great repute. The scenes represent the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the coronation of Sigismund by Pope Eugenius. Some of the minor embellishments indicate the advance of the humanist movement, which was by no means beneficial at the time to the religious spirit.

On entering the church it will not be without interest to reflect on the various influences which are represented in its construction, and in a wider sense in the civilisation of which it is an expression. The pillars, vaulted roof, round arches, and marble panelling are Roman. The cornices, columns, capitals, pediments, and coffered ceilings are Greek. The central and aisle domes had their origin in the East, whence they were introduced into Rome by Hadrian in the Panthéon. Their development in the West was largely due to the study of that building by Christian architects. The ground plan with its nave, aisles, transepts, and apse is a Christian adaptation from the atrium of a private house and from the basilica, both of which were derived by Rome from Greece. The design as a whole, combining these various features, and especially that of the central dome on its lofty drum, is the work of the architects of the new civilisation, of which Rome had been the pioneer.

Within a few steps of the main entrance is let into the floor of the nave the great disc of porphyry on which the emperors were crowned in the old church. In the first chapel of the right aisle are (1) M. Angelo's Pietà,

(2) a spiral column from the former building, (3) a sarcophagus found in excavation for the new church.

The Pietà is a work of the great sculptor's youth, executed in his twenty-fourth year.

It is a masterpiece of restraint without the loss of expression. It has been badly treated by the cathedral authorities, who have placed it on an unsuitable pedestal amid incongruous surroundings, and have added some ridiculous putti with bronze crowns.

The spiral column belonged to a series brought by Constantine from the East, and used as a screen before the altar of the basilica. They may be seen in position in Giulio Romano's picture of the Donation of Constantine in the Vatican. They are of late Greek workmanship and, owing to an absurd legend which connected them with Solomon's temple, had a most pernicious effect on Christian art. Bernini has perpetuated them in the baldacchino of this church.

Under the first aisle arch is the monument of Christina, Queen of Sweden and daughter of the great Protestant leader, Gustavus Adolphus. Her renunciation of the Reformation principles was naturally a great cause of rejoicing at Rome. Under the second arch is the monument of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, whose remains were brought from Mantua. She was the great supporter of Hildebrand, and

was present at the humiliation of Henry IV in her castle of Canossa, as is depicted in this relief. The bequest of her vast territories to the Church was the cause of much trouble with the emperor.

In the chapel of the Sacrament the bronze tomb of Sixtus IV, the founder of the della Rovere family and uncle of Julius II, is the masterpiece of Antonio Pollaiuolo of Florence. The virtues and sciences are represented in female forms of excellent design and execution, though hardly sepulchral in spirit, and the papal vestments are most beautifully finished.

Mon. of
Christina,
Queen of
Sweden.

Mon. of
Matilda,
Countess of
Tuscany.

Pollaiuolo's
tomb of
Sixtus IV.

Most of the pictures over the altars are copies in mosaics of well-known oil paintings. They are good copies and very durable, but unfortunately the selection was made during the reign of the emotional artists of the late Renaissance. The 'Communion of St. Jerome' by Domenichino, just above this chapel, is a fair example of the school.

In the right transept the sittings of the so-called oecumenical council of 1870 were held, which resulted in the promulgation of the infallibility dogma. The apse of the cathedral is decorated or disfigured, according to the taste of the spectator, by Bernini's setting of the chair of St. Peter, with the statues of Paul III and Urban VIII on either side.

In the left transept are altars dedicated to the first four popes of the name of Leo. On that containing the bones of Leo the Great (440-61) is a relief representing his victory over Attila, by the miraculous intervention of St. Peter and St. Paul. The association of the two apostles is a proof of the antiquity of the legend. The remains of the other three Leos occupy an early Christian sarcophagus. The monument of Alexander VII (1655-67), with the gilded skeleton, hour-glass, and multi-coloured marble drapery, marks the extreme limit of the emotionalists.

On the opposite side of the aisle is an experimental picture of oil on slate, representing the fall of Simon Magus, which would be better replaced by something more appropriate in medium and subject. The altar of Gregory the Great, with his remains, commands our respect, but our thoughts go back to other scenes than that depicted by the artist.

The statue of Pius VII, who had unhappy relations with Napoleon, by Thorwaldsen, marks a reaction to better things in the world of art. Close by are (1) a copy of Raphael's 'Transfiguration' and (2) monuments of Innocent XI and Leo XI.

Mosaic pictures.

Setting of St. Peter's Chair.

Altar of Leo I.

Altar of Leos II, III, and IV.

Mon. of Alexander VII.

Altar of Gregory the Great.

Thorwaldsen's Pius VII.

Beyond the Cappella del Coro is Pollaiuolo's monument of Innocent VIII in life and death. The seated figure holds the sacred lance, to which in life he attached so much importance (p. 102), but the execution is not so successful as in the case of Sixtus IV. In justice to the artist it should be said that the arrangement and frame of the monuments were altered when the removal from the earlier church was made.

A little lower down is Canova's chaste monument of the Stuarts—James (the old Pretender), Charles Edward (the young Pretender), and Cardinal Henry of York—erected at the expense of George IV. Their bodies lie in the crypt below under the titles of James III, Charles III, and Henry IX of England. Opposite to the monument is that of Maria Sobieski, the wife of the old Pretender.

In the baptistery, at the end of the aisle, is the porphyry font, which was originally the lid of the Emperor Hadrian's sarcophagus. His tomb was used by the popes for centuries as a place of refuge, and the lid of his coffin seems destined for a much longer period of more sacred service.

At the end of the nave, before reaching the high altar, is the seated bronze figure of St. Peter, which, like its fellow in the crypt, has done other duty in pagan times. The addition of new hands, keys, and nimbus has converted the Roman official into the traditional founder of the papacy. Each pillar of the dome enshrines a relic, which is exhibited on appointed days, and a statue of the saint with whom it is connected: the spear of St. Longinus, the handkerchief of St. Veronica, the cross of St. Helena, and the head of St. Andrew. The last of these was received in Rome with great acclamation during the papacy of Pius II (1458-64), who looked upon it as a new ally in the expedition he was fitting out against the Turks. The

Pollaiuolo's Innocent VIII.

Canova's monument of the Stuarts.

Lid of Hadrian's sarcophagus.

Bronze figure of St. Peter.

The dome pillars and their relics.

pope died at Ancona and the expedition was abandoned. The high altar is placed over the grave of the apostle, and between them is the confessor, whose ever-burning lights are said to have been endowed by one of our Saxon kings. Before it is the kneeling figure of Pius VI by Canova.

In the vestibule of the sacristy, which is entered by a door near the Stuart monument, are colossal statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in the octagon vestry beyond eight fluted columns from Hadrian's Villa. In Stanza C are several pictures by Giotto, and twelve angels with musical instruments from the carved ceiling of the church of the Holy Apostles by Melozzo da Forlì.

In the first treasury the dalmatic worn by Charlemagne at his coronation is shown amongst other vestments, and in the second are cases full of precious church metal work, amongst which are a crucifix and candlesticks by Benvenuto Cellini.

THE ART COLLECTIONS

THE art collections lend themselves as readily to the illustration of our subject as the monuments themselves. The wealth of Greek sculpture, whether imported or copied, testifies to the enormous influence of Greece on Rome and on Western civilisation through Rome. The art of Rome itself was best expressed in portraiture, which has the additional value of making us familiar with the personal appearance of its leading characters. Early Christian art is appropriately represented by graffiti from the catacombs and by sarcophagi, and from the fourth century onwards by the churches and their decorations. The removal of the papacy from Rome to Avignon in the first decade of the critical fourteenth century dispersed a promising band of artists, and robbed the

city of its proper place in the work of the Renaissance. Disturbances and disputes followed the return, and no encouragement was given to local art. The Florentine artists were unrivalled and the most capable of them were imported to Rome. In the ambitious complications of the rebuilding of St. Peter's, in the decorations of the Sistine chapel and the Vatican stanze, and in other work of the mighty artists called to her aid, the sun of Rome, as the capital of Western Christendom and the leader of Western civilisation, set in an appropriate blaze of colour. Her work was finished when the new nationalities were fit for independence. The discovery of new worlds and the improvement of navigation, the printing press and the consequent spread of education, have opened up new fields for the employment and expansion of the civilisation which sprang from her loins and which seems destined to enfold the whole race of man.

It is impossible in a short space to attempt any kind of criticism or even to give a full catalogue of the art collections. Books without number are published which deal with the subject from every point of view. The opportunity should be taken of obtaining a general idea of the development of Greek art. It begins here with the dignified expression of the school of Pheidias.

Pheidias when men were treated as gods. This is the period immediately following the defeat of the Persians, when Greece, under the leadership of Athens, rose to the height of its power—political, literary, and artistic. Pheidias was followed by men whose aim was to produce the human body in its most perfect form. Polycleitus worked at its proportions, Myron at the expression of suspended movement, Scopas at the delineation of emotion, Praxiteles at the lines of grace. Lysippus, who was the favoured sculptor of Alexander the Great, spread the influence of Greek art over the conqueror's wide dominions. It underwent considerable modifications through contact with less refined and less

Florentine
artists in
Rome.

Canova's
Pius VI.

Melozzo da
Forlì's angels.

Work of
Benvenuto
Cellini.

Greek
sculpture.

Roman
portraiture.

Christian art.

Effect of the
removal to
Avignon.

Polycleitus,
Myron,
Scopas,
Praxiteles,
Lysippus.

artistic minds, as is seen in the works of the Hellenistic schools. The Greek canons on the limitation of art to subjects at rest and objects of beauty were disregarded, more appeal was made to pathos and sentiment generally, and full liberty of choice and action was claimed. The dying Gaul and struggling Laocoon, the drunken woman and the boy with the goose, will be recognised as characteristic examples of the change.

Hellenistic
art.

THE VATICAN SCULPTURE GALLERIES

The entrance is through the Croce Greca room, in which are the porphyry sarcophagi of Helena and Constantia, the mother and daughter of Constantine. These were taken from their mausolea, the Tor Pignatarra and Sta Costanza, by popes Anastasius IV (1153-4) and Paul II (1464-71) for their own sepulchres, and transferred by later popes to this museum. The reliefs on the former commemorate the deeds of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, who died in York, and the idealised vintage scenes on the latter are repeated in the mosaics which still adorn her mausoleum (p. 162). The red porphyry, of which so much is seen in Rome, was brought from Egypt at immense cost, as may be understood to some extent from the fact that it took twenty-five skilled marble workers nine years to restore one of these monuments. An excellent opportunity is given in this museum of examining at close quarters some of the many precious marbles imported in the imperial age, regardless of the expenditure of life and money. The two sphinxes in this room are of red and grey Egyptian granite, both largely used after the time of Trajan. Between them is an admirable example of Roman mosaic work, a basket of familiar flowers, true to nature in form and colour. Roman mosaic was an inlay of marbles, whereas that of the churches is of small coloured glass cubes and gold leaf.

The Croce
Greca.

Marbles of
imperial
Rome.

On the left wall near the entrance is a copy of the Venus of Cnidos (574), a famous work of Praxiteles. It is one of the gems of the collection, in spite of the fact that it is pieced together from two copies, the head and body being of different marbles, and is marred by tin drapery. The features of Hadrian (575) are more familiar than those of Didius Julianus (572), the man who bought the throne in the Prætorian camp. The elder Faustina (570) is commemorated with her husband in the Forum temple. There are two presentations of Augustus, as a young orator (565), and as Pontifex Maximus (597), and busts of Trajan (581) and Marcus Aurelius (595).

A huge monolith porphyry tazza, antique of course, stands on a combination of Roman mosaics in a ring of colossal statues and busts. Most of them are on pedestals of a straight-grained species of Hymettian marble from Athens. There are busts of Julia Domna (554), wife of Septimius Severus and mother of Caracalla, of Pertinax (556), of the elder Faustina (541), of Nerva (548), the first of the good emperors, and Hadrian (543), one of his successors, of Claudius (551), the conqueror of Britain, and of Plotina, wife of Trajan. The Otricoli Zeus (539) and the colossal figures of Hera (542) and (546) are Greek statues, the two latter of the Pheidian type. The Genius of Augustus (555) represents what was at first a man's guardian angel, and later his better or immortal self. The herm (547), or boundary stone, represents a sea deity, and (540) the likeness of Antinous, Hadrian's favourite, as Bacchus. No. 544 is one of the few bronzes which escaped the metal hunger of the Middle Ages; it is of the school of Scopas, but has been damaged by burial. Juno Sospita (552), of Roman design, should be contrasted with its Greek neighbours.

The room is so called from the group of the immortal nine round Apollo (516), of the school of Praxiteles. The Carrara monolith columns were made to carry the antique Corinthian

Venus of
Cnidos.

The Rotunda.

Otricoli Zeus.

Room of the
Muses.

capitals found in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Against the walls are antique busts of Greek celebrities, Pericles (525) and Aspasia (523), Metrodorus the Epicurean (509) and Antisthenes the Cynic (507), Demosthenes (506) and Æschines (502), Zeno (500) and Epicurus (498), Sophocles (492 and 496), Diogenes (490), Euripides (521), Plato (519), Socrates (514), Epimenides (512), and Alcibiades (510)—a Roman copy. On the wall leading to the next room are (1) the birth of Dionysus, in which the infant leaps from the thigh of Zeus into the arms of Hermes, behind whom stand the three Fates, (2) the Pyrrhic dance, illustrating the Greek love of grace and rhythmic movement.

Here we see the Romans in their hunting and domestic mood, and the skill of their artists in executing their patrons' commissions for their country houses.

Room of the
Animals.

Passing round the room to the right we notice a dolphin attacked by a sea griffin in Oriental alabaster (192), and the Laurentian sow (194) of Virgil's *Æneid*. The cow in grey marble (209) is reminiscent of Myron and is paired with a well-executed horse in white marble (211). In the second half of the room, opposite the window, is a familiar Mithraic group (124) representing an Eastern form of sun worship, which had a considerable vogue in the empire during the first three centuries; and on the wall on each

Landscapes
in mosaic.

side of it are two landscapes in mosaic from Hadrian's Villa, a pastoral scene with the goddess Pales (113), and a lion and bull fight (125). Close by are a sporting dog in Phrygian pavonazzetto (119), and a stag in flowery Oriental alabaster (132). The centaur, carrying Cupid on his back and a hare in his hand (138), divides his attention between love and sport, while the emperor of the Antonine period (139) is bent on the latter. Against the window wall the lion in Numidian giallo brecciato (149), the panther in yellow alabaster inlaid with black marble spots (154), the large lion in African pearly bigio (156), the two panthers in greenish-grey spotted granite (155, 163), and the

dolphin in green serpentine, are interesting examples of the use of costly marbles in ornaments. The two slabs on either side of the central passage are fine specimens of the serpentine known as *verde antico*.

On the floor of the room are examples of Oriental alabaster in a large bath and vase, and of *porta santa* in a smaller bath. At the end of the room to the left of the entrance, between two magnificent Corinthian candelabra (412, 413), is the sleeping Ariadne (414), a copy of a Hellenistic original of the fourth century B.C.,

Gallery of
statues and
busts.

Sleeping
Ariadne.

and on the wall to the left a relief (416) representing Theseus on the point of embarkation, while a satyr bending over the deserted Ariadne indicates the approach of Bacchus. On the right is an Attic tomb relief of an athlete, belonging to the late archaic period about fifth century B.C. Following this wall we pass a copy of the well-known satyr of Praxiteles (406), a sepulchral monument with the figure of the deceased reclining (404), a group of Æsculapius and Hygieia of Hellenistic origin (399), a statue of Poseidon of the Myron type (394), and at the end of the room two excellent seated portrait statues of Menander (390) and Posidippus, Athenian poets of the third century, and probably the work of contemporary Athenian sculptors. Keeping to the window wall, through the gallery of busts we notice a Roman sepulchral monument, assigned to Cato and his daughter Porcia (388), busts of Athena (376) and Hera (363), and a colossal statue of Zeus of the fourth century B.C.; against the returning wall are typical heads of Silenus (321), a satyr (315), and exceptionally good portraits of Marcus Aurelius (285) and Caracalla (292).

Against the same wall in the gallery are the fountain decoration of a drunken satyr (267), an Amazon (265), a marble copy of Apollo the lizard slayer by Praxiteles (264), Apollo Citharæus (259), Paris (255), and a well-executed fragment of a Triton of the school of Scopas (253). The youth (251)

Apollo
Sauroctonos.

is in the style of Polycleitus, the Amore (250) in that of Praxiteles, and the statues of Clodius Albinus and Lucius Verus exhibit Roman armour of the first and second centuries.

On the opposite side is the entrance to a room containing a mosaic from Hadrian's Villa, representing the masks used in theatres. The marble pictures of four floors have been combined in one setting and surrounded with modern arabesques. The dancing girl (425) is probably a Greek work of the third or second century B.C., and the crouching Aphrodite (427) a copy of a Hellenistic original of the same period. The satyr (432) and the bowl (435) in rosso antico are from Hadrian's Villa, and the chair (439) is a good specimen of antique work in the same material. Aphrodite (433), the bas relief (434), and Apollo (443), a Roman copy of a fourth-century Greek work, are noteworthy.

In the court opening from the room of the animals are several large baths, of which one in green basalt from Ethiopia (100) and another of porta santa (43) are exceptionally fine. There are also a large bath of Egyptian black granite, two blocks of alabaster, columns of yellow coralline breccia, red porphyry, and two of bigio reticolato (45a, 87d). In one of the niches is a statue of Hygieia (85) with a snake and cup. The head and body are of different materials and belong to different copies of a bronze of the fifth century B.C. To the right of it is a relief (81) from the Ara Pacis, which was dedicated by the senate to Augustus. There is a fragment in the Lateran, and others in different countries. To the left is another relief (88) representing Roma carrying a banner, from a monument of Trajan's time. In front of Hygieia (85) is the small Ara Casali (44) with reliefs, amongst which are the birth and exposure of Romulus and Remus. No. 28 is an oval sarcophagus with a Bacchic scene, in which two lions' heads are inserted, and near it on the wall are two decorated table rests (27).

Cabinet of masks.

Octagonal Court.

Round the open space are: (1) the Laocoon room, in which is the famous Rhodian group of the second or first century B.C., representing the punishment of the priest of Apollo and his sons for an act of sacrilege. It is an example of the attempt in Hellenistic art to express violent emotion by direct representation rather than by suggestion. The right arm is said to have been wrongly restored, and a model of another position, attributed to Michael Angelo, is on the wall; (2) the Apollo room, containing the statue of the slayer of Laocoon, who is about to execute divine vengeance on some other offending mortals. It is thought to be a copy of a bronze original of the fourth century B.C., by an artist who belonged to none of the famous schools but was not without merit of an original kind; (3) the Perseus room, in which Canova is somewhat harshly pitted against the old Greek masters. Napoleon had carried off the chefs d'œuvre of this and other museums to Paris, and the best man of the day was employed to do what he could to replace them. Here we have three examples of his work—the Perseus with the head of Medusa, and the two boxers, which do great credit to the artist, but ought to be exhibited elsewhere.

This room is near the entrance and on a higher level than the galleries we have been in. The columns of the staircase, and especially two of black porphyry on the upper level overlooking the Croce Greca, should be noticed as splendid specimens of imperial marbles. In the Biga room, so called from the much restored chariot group, the best works are a bearded Bacchus (608) and a Discobolus (618). The latter is a copy of a celebrated bronze by Myron, which was frequently reproduced. The moment chosen is when the body is drawn back as far as possible, before throwing its whole strength into the critical forward movement. It is the quoit-thrower at the highest point of tension. The head ought to be turned back towards the quoit. A modern

Laocoon.

Apollo Belvedere.

Perseus.

Work of Canova.

Sala della Biga.

copy showing the original pose will be seen in the Museo delle Terme.

Those whose time is limited should not loiter in this gallery, as it is of general interest only. Owing to re-arrangement the numbers are not consecutive. Beginning on the left side at the bottom of the stairs, there is a good pagan

Chiaramonti
museum.

sarcophagus (179), a terminal figure of good Greek work (732), Hadrian in military costume (682), Hercules with the infant Telephus—copy of a fourth-century Greek group (636) on a square altar with reliefs of Apollo and Diana, Mars and Mercury, Hercules and Silvanus, Hope and Fortune. Hermes with caduceus (589), Ganymede and eagle (587), Silenus with panther (544), bow-bending Cupid (495)—of the school of Lysippus, fragment of a relief (729), statue of Mithras (464), colossal Claudius (400), fragment of Greek relief of the Parthenon period (372), Athens (354), Hercules after Lysippus (294), goddess nursing a child (241)—an interesting anticipation of the Madonna in art, Artemis (122)—school of Lysippus, Autumn (6)—on Roman tomb relief.

Against the opposite wall at the end of the gallery: Winter (13)—on Roman tomb relief, a large oval sarcophagus (180)—with scenes from the life of Bacchus, Roman tomb altar (230); another opposite; Satyr (243), mask of Ocean (244), Polyhymnia (245), colossal Dacian (356)—in Phrygian cap (this cap became the cap of liberty, worn by freed slaves, and was the origin of the papal tiara), colossal bust of Isis (547).

Returning to the end of the gallery, a door, flanked on either side by columns of granite and framed in pavonazzetto, leads to many of the gems of the collection. A Caryatid (5)—original in the British Museum, Commodus (8), Dacian slave (9), Silenus and Bacchus (11)—copy of Greek group, Augustus (14)—excellent Roman portrait statue, a physician with attributes of Æsculapius (17)—Roman, Nerva—the first of the good emperors (20), portrait of Roman lady (23), Titus—

Braccio
Nuovo.

Roman
portrait
statues.

good-tempered sensualist, 'the darling of mankind' (26), Silenus (28)—a fountain, Satyr (29)—the joys of a free life, priestess of Isis, Nereids on sea horses (34, 35), wounded Amazon (44)—copy of bronze by Polycleitus, Trajan (48), Selene discovering Endymion (50), Julia, daughter of Titus (56), Concord bringing plenty (59), Roman portrait (60)—typical Roman art, Demosthenes (62), Apoxyomenos (copy of bronze by Lysippus, one of the world's masterpieces)

Apoxyomenos
Amazon.

Amazon (71)—Polycleitus, Antonia (77)—daughter of Mark Antony and mother of Germanicus, Fortune (86)—with rudder and cornucopia. In the apse a number of athletes, and in front of them colossal statue of the Nile with sixteen children climbing over him, representing the sixteen cubit rise which brings fertility; on the base, river scenes. In front of this a crater of basalt and, on either side of the window, columns of Oriental alabaster. The large, wavy columns in the room are a species of cipollino, Minerva (114)—Greek of fifth century B.C., a very attractive statue, Claudius (117), Doryphorus. Satyr (120) after Praxiteles, Doryphorus

(126)—copy of famous statue by Polycleitus, accepted in ancient art as the standard of the human form, Domitian (129), Julia Pia, wife of Septimius Severus (133).

This gallery contains inscriptions, sarcophagi, altar tombs, cinerary urns, &c., pagan on the left and Christian on the right. No. 193 is an altar of Mithras, the Persian sun god, whose worship became fashionable in Rome during the Antonine period. No. 191, a pagan sarcophagus with a wedding scene in the centre, presumably intended to hold the remains of husband and wife. No. 80 represents the husband and wife clasping hands with the figure of Amor between them. Monuments of this kind throw a light on the Roman world which is not obtained from the statues of gods and emperors. Between these two is the tomb of a cutler, whose pride in his trade is shown by the forge on one side and the shop front on the other.

Galleria
Lapidaria.

Tomb of
a Roman
cutler.

The marble candelabra which give the name to the gallery stand in the openings on either side of the arches between the compartments. They have been found in various excavations and some have been subsequently used in Christian churches.

Compartment I.—The gallery is especially rich in vases, cinerary urns, tazze and cratera, generally of rare marbles. In this compartment there are vases of green breccia on a porphyry column (11), of porphyry on a granite column (14), of black and white Oriental granite (17, 18), of Genoa serpentine (46), grey serpentine (50), Egyptian serpentine (56), jasper (69), sarcophagus of a studious youth amongst the Muses (20), statue of reclining faun in basalt (52), crater in Egyptian granite (34).

Compartment II.—Vases in black serpentine (70), Oriental alabaster (83d), green granite (95), Thebes serpentine (96), sundials (70a and 122a)—the latter with names of the months and of the Zodiac signs in Greek, cinerary urns in white marble (84, 114, 116, 121), statue of Diana of the Ephesians (81), cup-bearing Sileni (90), Ganymede (118a), capital from temple of Hercules (100).

Compartment III.—Antique frescoes and mosaics on wall. Statue of Semus Sancus (the inscription on this altar is said to have originated the legend of the worship of Simon Magus, which culminated in his death in the Forum) (p. 209). Well head (134c), Satyr carrying Bacchus (148).

Compartment IV.—Statuette of Victory (162), statue of a fisherman (177), city of Antioch (184), sarcophagus-Niobe myth (204), vases in jasper (189), nero antico (192), rosso antico (196), Oriental alabaster (202), green marble of Ponsevera (220).

Compartment V.—Greek running girl (222), Ethiopian slave (240), Pan (246), vase of Oriental granite on funerary altar, which stands on Mithraic altar (247).

Compartment VI.—Artemis (38), Demeter (253c),

Ganymede (257), Paris (265), Niobid (264), Persian warrior (269c).

THE CAPITOL

The Capitol, whatever may have been the origin of its name, was the most central of the seven hills and the most sacred. On its southern peak was the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and on its northern that of Juno Moneta, and between them its citadel. It now stands between ancient and modern Rome. On one side is the silent Forum with its broken columns and ancient foundations, and on the other the narrow streets of the busy city. An imposing flight of steps leads to the Piazza del Campidoglio, which occupies its centre and is formed by three large buildings—the two museums and the Palazzo del Senatore. In the middle is the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.

Michael
Angelo's
design.

Architecturally it is the most impressive of Rome's open spaces, and owes its present form to Michael Angelo, who designed its approach, its palaces, and the pedestal of its statue. Against the balustrade overlooking the city have been placed from time to time monuments found in excavations, the Dioscuri with their horses, two Roman milestones, and the so-called trophies of Marius. The last are of the time of Domitian, when Roman art was at its best. The bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius is a contemporary portrait of the imperial philosopher, and owes its preservation throughout the Middle Ages to the belief that it represented Constantine, the first Christian emperor.

Equestrian
statue of
M. Aurelius.

The Capitoline museum is on the emperor's right.

Within its court is the statue of a river god, which formerly stood at the bottom of the hill near the forum of Julius Cæsar. It was known in medieval times as Marforio, and was used by the wits of the day as a receptacle for comments on passing events of public

The
Capitoline
museum.

Marforio and
Pasquino.

interest. A statue known as Pasquino, in another part of the city, was used for a similar purpose, and between them they frequently turned burning questions into ridicule, or put a stop to flagrant abuses. On the ground floor to the right, beyond a badly restored Mars (19), are three small rooms: in (1) indifferent busts; (2) a sarcophagus with relief representing a contest between Gauls and Greeks—a Pergamene work of the second century B.C., and the tomb of a Roman sportsman; (3) an exceptionally well-designed and skilfully executed sarcophagus of the early part of the third century A.D., Roman work at its best period. The reclining figures on the lid have been called Alexander Severus and his mother, but on insufficient grounds.

The Portland Vase.

It was in this sarcophagus that the marvellous glass cameo known as the Portland Vase, which is one of the treasures of the British Museum, was found.

In the long gallery at the top of the stairs should be noticed, on the right, Marcus Aurelius (63) and Septimius Severus (62), a good marble copy of a bronze bow-bending Cupid (5) by Lysippus, a very realistic drunken woman (8) of the Hellenistic school, an octagonal cinerary urn adorned with festive cupids (10), a flute-playing satyr (12), Psyche being teased (20), and, under the window, a delicately-carved cratera on an antique Greek well head, relieved with a procession of the gods.

Against the left wall below 46 is a sarcophagus with a humorous representation of the education of Dionysius, his bath, toilette, and entertainment with a wine-skin dance. Farther on a Discobolus (50) after Myron, wrongly restored as a fallen warrior, and a Heracles slaying the hydra (38).

In the room of the doves opposite is the mosaic which has given its name to the room from Hadrian's

Villa, and beneath it a sarcophagus (13) with Pliny's Doves. a Greek representation of the creation of man. Prometheus fashions the human body in clay, to which Pallas gives life in the form of a butterfly. The

Fates stand round, Oceanus and Helios with his four-horsed chariot take their part in the scene, which ends in death in the right-hand corner. The workmanship is of the third century A.D., while that of the sarcophagus of Endymion (37), inscribed with the name Gerontia, is five centuries earlier. Under the far window is a minute engraving of the taking of Troy, the *Tabula Iliaca*, and some fragments representing the shield of Achilles. The shelves are full of busts of unknown Romans, interesting as specimens of portraiture.

In the middle of the gallery is the cabinet of Venus, containing the Capitoline Venus (1), one of the gems of the collection, by an able artist inspired by the work of Praxiteles. It should be borne in mind for comparison with the Aphrodite of Cnidos in the Vatican. Its very careful modelling and exquisite finish shows work from life by a sculptor of exceptional power. In the same room are the groups of Eros and Psyche (2) and Leda and the swan (3)—Greek works of the second and fifth centuries B.C. respectively.

In the room of imperial busts, opening from the end of the gallery, is a seated lady (84), a Roman portrait statue in a favourite pose of Hellenistic type, and on the walls some graceful reliefs of (1) Andromeda and Perseus and (2) the sleeping Endymion, also of Hellenistic origin. The busts are named, and amongst them should be noticed, as reliable, those of Augustus (2),

Tiberius (4), Agrippina the elder (10), Caligula (11), Nero (16), Vespasian (21), Trajan and his wife Plotina (27, 28), Hadrian and his wife Sabina (31, 32, 33), Antoninus Pius (35), Marcus Aurelius and his wife Faustina (37-39), Lucius Verus (40), Septimius Severus, his wife Julia Domna, and their son Caracalla (51-53). In this family a foreign cast, frequently repeated from this date, is observable in the imperial features. Maximius (63), Gordianus Africanus (64), Decius (70), Constantius Chlorus (81)—father of Constantine—and Julian the Apostate (82).

In the room of philosophers is the seated figure of

a Roman, probably of the republican period, and amongst the busts are Socrates (4, 5, 6), Diogenes (21)—
 a realistic piece of work—Sophocles (23),
 Greek Euripides (41-43), the elder Scipio (49),
 portraits. Plato (58), and Æschylus (82). The busts are
 mostly of Greek workmanship, but the attributions are
 seldom authentic.

In the middle of the large saloon are two centaurs (2, 4) which have lost their riders, two cupids. They are second century A.D. copies in marble of bronze Hellenistic originals, of the Rhodian and Pergamene type, as may be seen by comparing the older head with the Laocoon. The motive is the effect of love on age and youth, emanating from a school of sculpture with a purpose. The artists Aristeeas and Papias of Aphrodisias have immortalised themselves by inscribing their names on the bases. The fat Boy Hercules (3) is an unsuccessful rendering of an impossible task on so large a scale and in such hard material. Against the window wall are an early Greek statue of Pallas (36) and a marble copy of a bronze wounded Amazon (33), a
 Greek Greek work of the fifth century B.C. of high
 sculpture. merit and full of pathos. The statues of Apollo (30) and Hera (24) are of the Pheidias type, and the old woman (22) is a figure from a lost group.

The red satyr, who gives his name to the room of the Faun, was one of Hadrian's numerous treasures in his Tivoli villa, a realistic representation in colour and expression of a wild woodsman, originating in the Hellenistic period under the inspiration
 of Lysippus. His chief, Silenus (31), has
 Hellenistic partaken too freely of the grape juice after fer-
 sculpture. mentation, and the boy happily finds a difficulty in assuming the morose old drunkard's counterfeit (8). There are two sarcophagi, a contest between Greeks and Amazons (18), and Diana and Endymion (3), which are worth attention, and on the former a head of Ariadne (21) with Bacchic ivy wreath, near which is a marble copy of a famous Hellenistic bronze group, the boy with a

goose (16). The original was a fountain decoration by Boethus of Chalcidion, second century B.C.

In the room of the Gladiator are several statues of very high quality. The bust next the door (16) is not improbably that of Marcus Junius Brutus, the most contemptible of Cæsar's assassins. Coin portraits justify this attribution, which is borne out by the sinister expression. No. 12, found in Hadrian's Villa, appears to be a Greek statue of Hermes converted into a representation of Antinous, the emperor's favourite. Close by is a satyr (10) leaning, flute in hand, against a tree stump, one of many copies of a famous
 Praxiteles. original by Praxiteles. It came from Hadrian's Villa and is of contemporary workmanship. The girl with a bird (9) is Roman, and the realistic figure (8), though no likeness of Zeno, is a characteristic specimen of strong Hellenistic portraiture. Of the same origin, but earlier in date, is the Dionysus (5) and the idealised Alexander the Great (3), represented as a sun god, but the rays have disappeared. Another Amazon (4) and a Pergamene statue inspired by Scopas, thought to represent Persephone (2), complete the collection with the exception of the central figure—

the dying Gaul (1). This is the work of a
 The dying Pergamene sculptor of the period of
 Gaul. Attalus I (241-197 B.C.), for whom many groups and statues representing his victories over the Gauls were executed. The artist has evidently modelled his figure from a living northern barbarian and has succeeded in producing a strong sympathetic feeling in the minds of all beholders.

It will be remembered that an alliance was made by the Romans with Attalus I of Pergamos, to counteract that of Hannibal with the Macedonians during the second Punic War, and that an immediate result was the introduction of the worship of Cybele into Rome. This statue, therefore, in addition to its artistic value, is of historical interest. The wider range and greater emotional appeal of the Hellenistic schools of sculpture

over the pure Greek is illustrated in this gallery by such works as the dying Gaul, the drunken woman, the centaurs in love, the boy with the goose, &c.

PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI

Most of the objects in this museum were found in municipal work, street-making, &c., in certain districts of the city. In the courtyard to the right are fragments—feet, hands, and biceps—of a colossal statue, and between

them the square cippus made to contain the urn and ashes of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus. This was removed from the

mausoleum of Augustus in the Middle Ages and used as a public corn measure. At the end of the court is a figure of Rome between two colossal Parthian captives, and along the other side reliefs of personified conquered provinces with war trophies interspersed.

Beyond the turnstile is a seated figure of Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily and for many years senator of Rome, the French prince whom the popes of the thirteenth century played off against the Germans, and thereby gave France a footing in South Italy, which eventually cost them dear. To the left is a room of modern busts

Modern busts.

of great Italians and others, amongst whom are Da Vinci and Cellini, Giotto, Ghiberti, Signorelli, Donatello, Sangallo, Angelico, Masaccio, Perugino, Orcagna, Mantegna and del Sarto, Galileo and Columbus, Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso. On the first

Monument of Marcus Aurelius.

landing are reliefs from a monument of Marcus Aurelius (1) offering sacrifice before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which stood close to this spot; (2) entering the city; (3) pardoning prisoners. The fourth is said to belong to the time of Hadrian, whose head has been transposed by a restorer to that of Aurelius. Several sarcophagi line the walls. A similar relief, of the emperor making a speech, is on the next landing. Opposite is a gallery

with four compartments of busts and consular lists; the first head on the left is a typical Roman portrait of the republican period, and the others on this side are Greek, the opposite Roman. In the corridor beyond, two magistrates starting a race by dropping a cloth, and farther on two runners of Greek origin. On the opposite side the tomb of a shoemaker with portraits and emblems of his trade. At the end of the gallery is the entrance to a series of rooms on the left. Near the door on the right is an exceptionally fine relief of a Mænad, full of expression and with clinging transparent drapery; beyond the mutilated Hercules in violent

Head by Cresilas.

action is the head of an Amazon by Cresilas—fifth century B.C.—an excellent example of Greek art. On the opposite side is a work of

the Pergamene school which produced so many emotional groups. Here we have Marsyas hung up to be flayed for daring to compete with Apollo. In the room of the bronzes, to the right of the door, is a most expressive

Roman portrait.

Roman portrait of the republican period, possibly the likeness of Lucius Junius Brutus, the founder of the commonwealth. The boy

extracting a thorn is of Greek origin, and the graceful Camillus, or priest's acolyte, a pleasing specimen of Roman art. The fluted bronze vase has an interesting history, as it was a gift of Mithridates, which fell to Rome amongst the spoils of conquest. The Ephesian Diana reminds us

Roman furniture.

of experiences in the life of St. Paul. The Roman couch of the imperial period should be closely examined on the window side, and the

fragments of a litter, mounted on wood, enable us to see the ordinary mode of conveyance in the ancient city. Carriages were seldom used except in religious processions, a special exception being made in the case of the Vestal Virgins. Etruscan coffins and vases occupy the next room, a processional chariot, and sundry skeletons and grave contents from an old necropolis on the Esquiline the next two. In the room of archaic sculpture the straight folds of the drapery on figures

and reliefs, the headless statue of Victory descending from heaven, the charioteer about to mount, and the torso of a fleeing female are noteworthy. On the opposite side of the gallery is a room containing objects found on the Esquiline. In the middle of the room is the Venus of the Esquiline, a Roman work representing, it is thought, a worshipper or priestess of Isis, as indicated by the serpent on the vase. The head of a centaur, a Pergamene work on the right side, and still more a Greek head of Hercules with eyes peculiar to the style of Scopas, and a satyr pouring wine, in the manner of Praxiteles, should be noticed. At the end of the room, paved with marble which is not to be trampled on, is Commodus posing as Hercules between the trunks of two sea deities. On the left side are several well-executed genre figures, a fisherman, an old woman with a lamb, a boy playing with nuts, &c., of Alexandrine origin, and near the door the tomb of a youthful prodigy who died of excessive poetic fervour.

In the garden are sundry groups, busts, and boundary stones, a dog in green marble, a Silenus fountain pouring water from his wine-skin, a lion attacking a horse, &c., and on the wall the city plan fixed on the Temple of Peace by Septimius Severus. There are several rooms on the same floor with varied exhibits of all ages, china, cabinets, Garibaldian relics, bust of Michael Angelo, and in one of the council rooms an antique bronze wolf, said to be of the fifth century B.C.

On the next landing is another large relief representing the apotheosis of the wife of Trajan or of Hadrian by the decree of the latter emperor. The long gallery of this floor contains many mosaics, of which the most important is of a ship near the door, many bronze and terra-cotta figures, ornaments, and utensils, with other small objects.

From it opens the picture gallery with several rooms hung with indifferent pictures, the best of which are

The
Esquiline
Venus.

Hellenistic
works.

The wolf of
the Capitol.

Apotheosis of
an empress.

portraits of Michael Angelo, Velasquez, and Bellini, and a small collection of Garofalo's work.

THE LATERAN MUSEUM (CLASSICAL)

The building to the right of St. John's Lateran was erected by Sixtus V (1585-90) in the place of the ruined palace of the popes destroyed by fire in 1308. Sixtus had been a Franciscan monk, and probably had not a very high appreciation of art. He was a great builder, but unfortunately lived when art and architecture were at a low ebb. His Lateran palace, after doing duty as an orphanage, is now a museum in two divisions, called respectively the sacred and profane. We will take the one with the dubious title first, as it is concerned with the earlier period.

Room I.—A portion of the boxer mosaic from the baths of Caracalla; remainder upstairs. (10) Tomb relief—a young hero saying farewell to his wife, Hellenistic; (13) fragment of boxers relief; (20) fragment representing Hadrian dedicating his temples of Venus and Rome—principal head wrongly restored as Trajan; upper part in Museo delle Terme; good Roman work. (26) Fountain relief, nymph, satyrs, forest life—Roman copy of Hellenistic design.

Room II.—Decorative fragments (86, 168, 130), cupids, griffins, acanthus frieze from Trajan's forum (178). Renaissance chimney-piece for comparison with former in its use of motives and execution. Capitals of Roman composite style, blending Corinthian and Ionic forms. Two black kidney stones used as standard weights, often found amongst church relics in connexion with martyrdoms.

Room III.—(256) Antinous as god of seasons, head restored. (258) Sarcophagus with boxing and wrestling scenes.

Room IV.—(278) Medea, to obtain the death of Pelias, is persuading his daughters to accomplish his rejuvenescence by boiling him with magic herbs; she

Museum
Profanum.

holds the pot of herbs, one daughter is arranging the cauldron, the other hesitates. (283) Bacchante, (319) well-executed figure, wrong head, (348) reproduction of well-known resting satyr of Praxiteles, (319, 352) portraits of early imperial time, (382) vase of rare kind of African marble called Bigio rossastro lumachellato, on an Africano stem from the island of Chios. To the left of the door is a fragment of a vase with fine reliefs.

Room V.—(399) A stag of Ethiopian basalt (macchiato), (391) a roughly worked group of Mithras slaying the bull, (396, 405) terminals with bodies of Pan delicately and humorously expressed.

Room VI.—Sculpture of the Julian imperial house found in a provincial theatre: (428) Augustus, (435) Tiberius, (436, 437) Claudius and his daughter Octavia, (447, 450) fountain figures of Sileni on wine-skins.

Room VII.—(462) Marsyas starting back on seeing Athena (wrongly restored with castanets), after a statue by Myron, representing a body in sudden recoil. (476) Sophocles, one of the most expressive portrait statues in Greek art—dignity, intelligence, self-possession, benevolence, portrayed in the simplest form; at his feet a case of manuscript rolls; an Athenian work of the fourth century B.C.

Room VIII.—(534) Poseidon in easy attitude in the manner of Lysippus, the head a marine adaptation of the Zeus Otricoli, (487) a poet with theatrical masks (Hellenistic).

Room IX.—(156) Base of a tripod with Bacchic reliefs of the Hellenistic period; above it a sculptured column which, like two others in the room, is of marble from Thasos. On either side of the door friezes with vine reliefs; many decorative fragments.

Room X.—Sculpture from the tomb of the Haterii (691)—the deceased on bier with friends, servants, Buildings of musicians, &c.; (719) the temples and ancient Rome, buildings on the funeral route—Jupiter Sator, Arch of Titus, Colosseum, Venus and Rome;

Work of
Myron.

Portrait
statue of
Sophocles.

(676) the tomb with funeral chamber below, inmates shown on roof, on left side a building crane; (721) gods of the lower world—Proserpina, Pluto, Ceres.

Room XI.—(751) Sarcophagus—Dionysus on left, Ariadne on right in chariots drawn by centaurs; (769) sarcophagus—Adonis leaving Aphrodite on left, wounded by boar on right, with Aphrodite and physician in middle; (777) sarcophagus—Phædra waiting on left, Hippolytus refusing in middle, hunting on right.

Room XII.—Sarcophagus—Orestes and Pylades at tomb of Agamemnon, murder of Clytemnestra and Ægisthus, Orestes leaving temple of Apollo at Delphi; (813) sarcophagus—destruction of the children of Niobe.

Room XIII.—(842) Figure of giant from a relief, (868) Orestes and Pylades, (851, 3, 4, 6, 8) porphyry fragments. Four spirally fluted columns of beautifully marked Phrygian pavonazzetto.

Room XIV.—(902) Unfinished statue of Dacian with sculptor's measurement points still remaining. Mosaics of good technique and bad taste.

Room XV.—Roman mosaic of the god Silvanus, showing the origin of the Christian aureole, in coloured marble cubes; (972) head of Atys, the favourite of Cybele; (975) head of girl.

Room XVI.—(1061) Reclining statue of Atys represented as a god—rays, chaplet, wheat, and fruit.

MUSEO DELLE TERME

A portion of the baths of Diocletian was converted under the superintendence of Michael Angelo into a Carthusian convent, the rooms of which are now used, like those of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, for the works of art continually being found when houses are rebuilt; in addition to these is a small but very valuable collection purchased by the state in 1900 from the

The
sculptor's
methods.

Boncompagni-Ludovisi family. Entering the west corridor of the large cloister, in the midst of which is a

pleasant garden full of antiquities, the exhibits begin with a characteristic Roman portrait (207); then a Hellenistic work labelled a nymph, a headless girl, a Vestal Virgin, an Orante (68), and a mutilated athlete (77) of the Polycleitan school. On the north side are a headless Juno of the fifth century B.C., a tombstone with busts of husband and wife; at the bottom of the east corridor an important mosaic

Mosaic of the Nile.

Boncompagni collection.

representing the Nile with its fauna and flora; in the south corridor a fragment of the famous Ara Pacis from the sanctuary of Peace erected to commemorate the victories of Augustus. In the middle of this corridor is the entrance to the Museo Ludovisi Boncompagni.

In Room I a part of a throne of Aphrodite with reliefs of the goddess being received by the Hours from the sea and two female figures on the sides—a Greek work of the best period. Colossal Aphrodite, also of the fifth century B.C., but more archaic. Two boundary stones with heads of Hercules (46) and Theseus (62).

Room II (to the right).—Mars in repose, fourth-century copy of a characteristic work by Lysippus. The cupid at his feet indicates his train of thought. Opposite, a youth resting—a less satisfactory work. Busts of Demosthenes and Aristotle on either side of the door.

Room III.—Hermes as orator (59), copy of Venus of Cnidus of Praxiteles (54), Æsculapius (77).

Room IV.—Gaul stabbing himself after killing his wife (43) to avoid captivity—a Pergamene group of third century B.C.; Pluto and splendid head of sleeping Fury (86).

Pergamene group.

Room V.—Juno Ludovisi (66)—colossal Greco-Roman; Minerva (61)—fourth century; Hercules (40)—after Lysippus; Athene (57)—badly restored copy of the statue of Pheidias for the Parthenon; veiled

Demeter (31), and Hygieia (23). Returning to Room I, we proceed at right angles to

Room VI.—Faun and Daphne, Bacchus and satyr, Cupid and Psyche, two altars and a sarcophagus front over the door.

Room VII.—Orestes and Electra—too sentimental; two Apollos, Atys, &c.

Room VIII.—Four sarcophagi—portraits mostly named. The present approach to the upper rooms by a staircase near the turnstile will probably be changed.

Sala I.—Mutilated kneeling figure—excellent work, six cases of stucco ceiling decoration of the time of Augustus, cinerary urn with reliefs of Eleusinian mysteries, Roman calendar for three months. Notice the *feriæ* in the middle of December marking the Saturnalia converted into Christmas.

Sala II.—Fifth and fourth century B.C. statues.

Sala III.—Bronzes: Greek prince and boxer—Hellenistic; Bacchus—Greco-Roman with silver and copper insertions.

Sala IV.—The Fanciulla d'Anzio—still a puzzle to the archaeologists; the latest theory is that it represents the Fortuna Victrix of Antium.

Sala V (on the other side of Sala I).—Pompeian decorations. Two heads—a dying Persian and a sleeping girl.

Sala VI.—Half figure and several heads of Vestal Virgins.

Sala VII.—Hermaphrodite—Hellenistic.

Passing through Gallery VIII and Sala XXII,

Sala IX.—Torso of Discobolus—Roman copy of Myron, Greek boy in basalt, plaster model of Myron's statue with head in original position.

Sala X.—Athletes, Mercury, Cretan minotaur.

Sala XI.—Heads, torsi, Meleager, satyr.

Sala XII.—Hellenistic genre pieces, fisherboy, flute-player, &c.

Sala XIII.—Greek portraits.

Hellenistic bronzes.

Fanciulla d'Anzio.

Mars in repose.

Sala XIV.—Roman portraits. Upper part of the Lateran relief (with lower part in plaster), showing Hadrian dedicating the temples of Venus and Rome near the Colosseum.

Sala XV.—Portraits of charioteers as boundary stones; mosaic showing their colours.

Sala XVI.—Mosaics and Roman portraits.

Sala XVII.—Tombs, urns, sarcophagi, mosaics.

Sala XVIII.—Important altar with reliefs.

Sala XIX, XX, XXI, XXII.—Room decorations.

Rooms of antiquities (various).—Jewellery, lamps, glass, terra-cotta, &c.

End room.—Fragments of ship from Lake Nemi (early imperial period);—bronze sides, ornaments, rails, relief of human hand for protection against evil eye, &c.

Fragments of Roman ship.

Series of rooms containing medieval exhibits.

THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM IN THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN

The exhibition of 1911 created two new permanent museums, those of ancient provincial Rome in the baths of Diocletian, and of medieval Rome in the castle of St. Angelo, and incidentally two new opportunities of visiting ancient buildings.

The portions of the baths of Diocletian adapted to the purpose of illustrating the work of Rome in its thirty-six provinces had been put by private owners to uses which precluded public access and hid their ancient origin. In a double sense, therefore, their conversion into a museum is to be welcomed.

The object of its promoters is to form in Rome an exhibition, original or otherwise, by which the energies of the ancient city outside its own borders may be gauged. In every part of the empire, *in situ* or in museums and private hands, are material evidences of the work by which this single city governed

The baths of Diocletian.

Purpose of the museum.

and civilised the known world. Ruins of towns, palaces, temples, houses, bridges and aqueducts, tombs, monuments, inscriptions and works of art, articles of war, commerce, luxury, and necessity, coins, furniture, jewellery, and ornament exist in every form on three continents from India to Britain.

A representative collection has already been arranged in the rooms allotted to the various provinces, and the ultimate possibilities of the museum are indicated by what has been accomplished. The ruins of the temple of Ancyra in Galatia, in which a copy of the will of Augustus was found, have been reproduced. The various portions of the Ara Pacis, which are scattered over Europe, have been put together in the original or in copy. Models of Diocletian's palace and mausoleum at Spalato, of a Roman forum, theatre, and temple in Numidia, of Trajan's trophy in Dacia, &c., have been made. Works of art in the great and small museums of Europe have been copied and placed in their various departments amongst such originals as the committee possessed or has been able to secure. It remains for the people of the various parts of the old empire, and amongst them I would especially mention the large contingent of visitors from England and the United States, who belong to Europe in this matter, to acknowledge the debt, which the relics themselves prove, by seeing that their possessions are worthily represented.

MUSEO BARRACCO

No one should omit a visit to this small but very select museum of Greek and other works of art, collected with singular taste and judgment at a time when opportunities were less rare than now by Baron Barracco and presented to his native city. There are only two rooms, but every object is a gem of its kind, and it would be difficult to obtain anywhere a better impression of the Greek feeling that beauty and art are synonymous. A full Italian catalogue can

be obtained at the door, and it is with much diffidence that one fulfils the guide-book requirements of mentioning some of the contents. To the right of the entrance Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian reliefs show the art of these countries in a very favourable light; and on the opposite shelf a head of

Head of
Julius Cæsar.

Julius Cæsar in basalt (31) is of extraordinary interest. The Julian star is on the diadem he wears, and the unshaven face betokens a period of mourning—possibly as he appeared in Egypt after the death of Pompey. The statue is said to have been made in or for Alexandria. On the other side of the door are two remarkable heads (204, 205), claimed as Etruscan work of the fourth century B.C. If so, the

Etruscan
work.

Etruscans were great artists. On the table in the middle of the room the work of Polycleitus is excellently represented by two copies of the heads of his Diadumenos (106) and Doryphoros (106). On the left of the door in the next room, on the floor, is a wounded dog by Lysippus, and against the wall to the right of the door a most striking copy of the head of Marsyas by Myron (97). Beyond these are three life-like portrait heads of Epicurus (155), Alexander the Great (157), and Demosthenes (140). In the middle of the shelf at the end of the room is a ram-bearing shepherd (83), such as was copied by the early Christians in the catacombs. Sophocles (153), Euripides (154), and

Greek head.

Homer (123) at the other end, though time-worn, are convincing, and the Greek head of the time of Demosthenes (143) is as near perfection in portraiture as it is possible to go.

The museum is on the Corso Vittore Emanuele, not far from the point where it reaches the river, and the visit may be combined with a walk (1) to the Cancellaria palace, an early Renaissance building (1486) attributed to Bramante. The façade and court with its double row of arcades are very highly praised by connoisseurs. It is the only palace besides the Vatican and Lateran which the papacy was allowed

Cancellaria
palace.

to retain in Rome and is used for business purposes. Close by is the Campo dei Fiori, in which heretics were brought to the stake, a memorial of which is to be seen in the statue of Giordano Bruno, who was burnt here in 1600.

Within sight is the Farnese palace, erected by Paul III (1534-49), and now the French embassy. It was finished by Michael Angelo, who designed the fine cornice of its inner court and wished to extend the building to the river. Returning to the Campo dei Fiori, the narrow Via Biscione leads to the church of S. Andrea della Valle, passing on the way

Site of
Pompey's
theatre.

a semicircular row of houses. This form is owing to the fact that they are built on the foundations of the auditorium of Pompey's Theatre, in a hall of which Julius Cæsar was assassinated on March 15, 44 B.C. In the church of S. Andrea della Valle are the tombs of the two Piccolomini popes,

Pompey's
statue.

Pius II and Pius III, moved here from St. Peter's at the time of the rebuilding, and at the Spada palace between Pompey's theatre and the river is the statue of Pompey, at the foot of which Cæsar fell.

THE LATERAN MUSEUM (CHRISTIAN SECTION)

The catacombs, with their paintings and inscriptions, are almost the only material remains of the first three centuries of Christianity. In the majority of cases the bodies were laid in the catacombs without a coffin; they were wrapped in a sheet and placed on the shelves which were closed by a slab. Important personages and martyrs were buried in stone coffins, which were used in the latter case as altars. The wealthier Romans had adopted the stone sarcophagus from the Greeks, and during the second and third centuries A.D. had covered them with reliefs of mythological subjects. These were mostly the work of Greek sculptors who carried on this trade in Rome.

Roman
sarcophagi,
2nd and 3rd
c. A.D.

Most of the sarcophagi of the fourth century were made for Christians, and after the barbarian invasions of the early part of the fifth century the trade died out. The earlier Christian sarcophagi are of transition character, and the later development passes from simple Bible illustrations to themes of the triumphant Church.

Christian
sarcophagi,
4th c. A.D.

In the corridor on the ground floor the first sarcophagus (21) is of the early transition period. A classical figure is in the attitude of blessing. On the opposite side again the central figure with scroll in hand has a phoenix at his feet, and winged figures of the seasons are on either side (77). The marriage ceremony of the pagan reliefs appears to be Christianised on the next (26), which has mutilated Bible scenes at the corners. In the child's sarcophagus the genii of the seasons re-appear, and two of them hold back the drapery from the bust of the deceased (37). This device appears to have impressed the Renaissance sculptors. The relief on the sarcophagus at the end of the passage is fully Christian and belongs to the second period. Here we have

Middle
period.

the raising of Lazarus, the denial of St. Peter, the sacrifice of Isaac, the washing of Pilate's hands, Moses striking the rock, Daniel amongst the lions, fed by Habakkuk, healing the blind, feeding the multitude. These are simple Bible stories from the Old and New Testaments which appear to have formed the staple teaching of the early Church. The washing of Pilate's hands would be especially appropriate in a Roman audience and the scene from Habakkuk shows that the apocryphal books were read.

On the wall above this sarcophagus are three mosaics, two dating from the eighth century and the third a reproduction of one of the tenth century. The two smaller are from the nativity scene on an oratory built by John VII (707) in connexion with the basilica of St. Peter. His portrait from the same source is in the present crypt of St. Peter's, and there is a fragment of the same series in the sacristy

Mosaic of
8th c.

of Sta Maria in Cosmedin. The central mosaic is a copy of one which adorned the tomb of Otto II, whose sarcophagus of imitation porphyry we have seen in the crypt (p. 99). This was tenth-century work, and it is interesting to notice that St. Paul is on the right hand and has a sword, which was not given to him in art before this century.

Copy of
mosaic of
10th c.

The realistic shepherd from the Campagna, with buskins and water-flask, a work of great merit, shows the sensitiveness of the early Christians in the matter of representing the Saviour in art (103). In 104 the figures are unfinished. The Creation and Fall are followed by the giving of an ear of corn to Adam and a lamb to Eve to symbolise their future life of labour in the cultivation of the ground and spinning. The water-pots and the baskets of bread are again symbols of the two miracles, the turning of water into wine and the multiplication of the loaves. In 119 the story of Jonah illustrates the resurrection: he is cast from the ship, swallowed by the monster, sleeps under the gourd. The man and bird fishing and the personified winds blowing are purely classical in treatment and possibly signify a connexion between the deceased and the sea.

In 425 there is a new series of subjects, the woman touching the hem of the Saviour's garment and the entry into Jerusalem. A few buildings indicate a city. In 135 the paralytic carries his bed, in 138 Christ and His apostles are in separate compartments, in 193 Cain and Abel make their offerings, and in 150 there are domestic and hunting scenes with traces of colour. On the wall are the three Hebrew youths in the burning fiery furnace (182), and on a handsome sarcophagus in the middle of the passage the familiar Constantinian vintage scene with three figures of good shepherds.

Art of the
Church
triumphant.

In 174 we meet with the first indication of a more triumphant note. The enthroned Saviour tramples on personified paganism between St. Paul on the right and St. Peter on the left.

The buildings with their gables, cupolas, and ridged tiles, their round and square-headed windows and draped openings are instructive. In 164 and 171 we see the victorious monogram raised on the cross above the sleeping soldiers, with doves symbolical of innocence resting on the arms of the cross. The arrest

Martyrdom
of St. Peter
and St. Paul.

of St. Peter and the execution of St. Paul balance each other on either side. Against the wall of the staircase is a striking relief of Elijah bestowing his mantle on Elisha, with the mocking children above. Over this is a naïve illustration of the nativity. On the top of the staircase is a

Unique
example of
early Chris-
tian portrait
statue.

restored seated figure of St. Hippolytus, a bishop of the third century, with inscriptions relating to his writings and paschal calendar on the chair. This is the only important portrait statue of early Christian art in existence.

In a room to the right of the adjoining corridor a large portion of a mosaic floor from the baths of Caracalla, more remarkable than beautiful, and dating from the fourth century, is exhibited.

The walls of the corridor are covered with inscriptions and epitaphs carefully arranged and to some extent dated from 71 to 607 A.D. Close to the door the epitaph of Quirinus has been identified as that of the Cyrenius mentioned by St.

Inscriptions
from the
catacombs.

Luke as the governor under whom the taxing of Cæsar Augustus took place. Near it are some of the inscriptions composed by Pope Damasus (366-384) in connexion with the graves of the martyrs and written in the clear lettering invented for the purpose. The remaining arches contain epitaphs, mostly from the catacombs, in Latin and Greek, with symbols of faith and hope, illustrations of implements of occupation, &c., all of which are of extraordinary interest to the Christian archæologist.

THE VATICAN PALACE—BORGIA APARTMENTS

In 1455 a Spanish cardinal of the Borgia family was elected pope under the title of Calixtus III. He was an old man, but during his three years' papacy found opportunity to strengthen the Spanish influence in Rome. Amongst others he advanced to the cardinalate a young nephew named Roderigo, who neither showed nor possessed any qualification for the spiritual side of his office. Cardinal Roderigo Borgia became an accomplished man of the world, who regarded ecclesiastical promotion as a means of advancement and wealth. His great ambition was to be pope, and he worked ceaselessly to attain this end. The moral standard of

Card.
Roderigo
Borgia
elected pope,
1492.

the day may be gauged by the disregard of the celibate life shown by Church dignitaries. After his election to the papal chair, which he obtained in 1492 by liberal bribery, Alexander VI lived openly in the Vatican with his family, whose advancement in life was his ruling passion. The names of Cesare and Lucrezia Borgia are household words in the history of the times.

The suite of apartments occupied by the Borgia family was decorated by Pinturicchio and is open to the public. It is approached by the Chiaramonti museum and the Galleria Lapidaria.

It consists of six rooms, the first of which is hung with tapestry. The next three are those painted by, or under the superintendence of, Pinturicchio.

Pinturicchio
rooms.

They have Gothic vaults with a mixture of classic features, which gave the painter every opportunity of displaying his skill. The first room contains the annunciation, nativity, wise men, resurrection, ascension, descent of the Holy Spirit, and assumption of the Virgin, treated with the wealth of detail, variety of costume and incident, and brilliancy of colour associated with this period of art and especially

with this particular artist. The central theme is reverently rendered and the rest of the picture is frankly decorative and social. We are not quite prepared to see the figure of the pope, who made no attempt to disguise or hide his disbelief in the moralities, kneeling in full canonicals at the open tomb in the picture of the resurrection.

Portrait of
Alexander
VI.

Portrait of
Cesare
Borgia.

His fair-haired son, Cesare, occupies the corresponding position on the other side of the tomb. His life at that time was before him. The next room contains episodes from the lives of the saints—St. Catharine of Alexandria pleading before the emperor, meeting of two hermits in the desert with three temptresses in the background, meeting of Anna and the Virgin, St. Sebastian's martyrdom, Barbara's Tower, Susannah and the Elders. The artist appears to have selected two of his subjects with a little malice. In the Sebastian scene the Colosseum and Palatine hill indicate the local site of the martyrdom. The liberal arts and sciences of the third room are reminiscent of a similar subject by Melozzo da Forlì in the duke's palace at Urbino, of which the National Gallery in London has two pictures. The two last rooms decorated with subjects from the Creed and representations of the Sibyls are by another hand, less skilful and less attractive.

The Sistine chapel and Raphael Stanze are approached by the gallery of candelabra, which we have seen, and by the galleries of tapestries and maps.

The Sistine
chapel and
Raphael
Stanze.

Those who know Raphael's cartoons in the South Kensington museum will welcome the opportunity of seeing the designs in their final stage. They were made for the Sistine chapel, where they were to hang below the frescoes, but were appropriated by the victorious troops of Constable de Bourbon in 1527. After passing through several hands and being recovered for the Vatican, they were again included in military plunder at the time of the French Revolution. Again

Gallery of
tapestries.

they have been repurchased for their original owner. Most people will prefer the cartoons to the tapestries. A masterpiece in one medium is frequently an utter failure if copied in another. Human figures on a large scale can only be tolerated in tapestry at a great distance. This will be realised from the later designs in this gallery.

The ancient maps, again, require leisure and interest of a special kind. The last on the left has a representation of a marble carrying vessel in the harbour of Civita Vecchia. The number of obelisks of enormous weight—that in front of St. Peter's being estimated at 320 tons—and the great columns of the Pantheon portico and other pagan buildings must raise the question in every mind as to the method of their transportation by sea. Here we see the vessel with its sails and rowers and the monolith lying on deck.

Gallery of
maps.

The method
of transport-
ing obelisks
by sea.

The Sistine chapel requires a volume to itself and many visits. M. Angelo's ceiling and Last Judgment, and the frescoes of the great artists of the Renaissance, cannot be described in a few lines.

We find ourselves in a lofty, rectangular chapel, lighted by upper windows in the side walls and covered from top to bottom, walls, ceiling, and floor, with works of art. The floor alone, with its lovely Cosmati pavement, is worth the visit. The chef d'œuvre is the ceiling, but it is examined under difficulties and was painted under greater. What M. Angelo must have endured in lying on his back for two or three years to accomplish work which could never be fully appreciated, can to some extent be imagined by those who try to inspect it. But the pope commanded, and it was done. He divided his space and framed his pictures by introducing an architectural scheme which appears to be part of the building. His main subjects, extending down the middle of the ceiling, are the creation of the

The Sistine
chapel.

M. Angelo's
ceiling.

world and of man, his fall and early history. Around these are grouped the prophets and sibyls and a series of youthful figures which suggest the hope of humanity. The creation of Adam, the prophets Ezekiel and Jeremiah, the Delphic and Cumæan sibyls, and the figures of the young men, attract the most attention.

The frescoes below are by different artists and represent selected parallel scenes from the Old and New Testaments. Beginning at the end next to the fresco of the Last Judgment, there are opposite to each other (1) scenes from the life of Moses, including the circumcision, the sign of the old covenant; (2) the baptism of Christ, initiating the new covenant. These are by Pinturicchio and are full of his charm of colour, costume, and attractive scenery. Next

Pinturicchio's
frescoes.

to these and similarly opposed to each other are (3) Moses killing the Egyptian, helping Jethro's daughters, kneeling before the burning bush, (4) our Lord tempted, healing the leper, &c., both by Botticelli and containing charming figures and groups characteristic of his style. The next pair is (5) the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea by Piero di Cosimo, and (6) the call of the apostles by Ghirlandaio. The matter-of-fact conception of the latter contrasts strongly with Botticelli's poetic work. Moses receiving the tables of the

Botticelli's
frescoes.

Piero di
Cosimo and
Ghirlandaio.

law (7) is paralleled by the sermon on the mount (8), both by Cosimo Roselli. The series concludes with a pair by Perugino—the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (9) and the delivery of the keys to St. Peter (9). All these frescoes are treated in a decorative manner with the costumes of the period.

It was the height of irony that M. Angelo, one of the most representative men of the new spirit, should have been commissioned to paint in so prominent a place and on so vast a scale the subject which, in its traditional treatment, exhibited the worst side of medievalism. The artist was not

M. Angelo's
'Last Judgment.'

responsible for a design which had received the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities. It was his part to use the knowledge and skill at his disposal in its treatment. The resurrection of the saved to a life of happiness and of the lost to a life of torment had received its pictorial form centuries before. It is in the repulsive treatment of the latter part that the spirit of the age finds its expression. The torture-chambers and dungeons, thumb-screws, racks, and implements of physical pain, which fill us with horror in medieval museums, rise before us as we contemplate their idea of the condition of the lost. Very few artists have been able to resist a touch of humour in rendering the grotesque forms of medieval demons. Those who can study the fresco in detail from a purely artistic point of view will find much to admire, but, taken as a whole, with its colour dimmed by the smoke of candles and its general effect damaged by later insertions, it is a disappointment to the ordinary spectator.

The Raphael Stanze are reached through the galleries of the candelabra, tapestries and maps, by turning to the left before descending the staircase to the Sistine chapel.

When Cardinal Giulio della Rovere was elected pope under the title of Julius II in 1503 he employed Perugino to decorate the suite of apartments above those which had been occupied by Alexander VI. Raphael, who was then in his twenty-fourth year, came to Rome about this time, and was given the opportunity by his old master of taking part in the work. The pope was at once attracted by the young Umbrian's talent and placed the whole undertaking in his hands. Raphael spent the remaining thirteen years of his life in Rome, where he did the whole of his fresco work, in the stanze and loggie of the Vatican, in the Farnesina palace, and in the church of Sta Maria della Pace, &c. At the time of his death he was architect of the new St. Peter's, and had previously designed Sta Maria in Domnica and the Chigi chapel in Sta Maria del Popolo. He painted several of his altar pieces and

The Raphael
stanze.

most of his portraits, including those of his two papal patrons, Julius II and Leo X, during his Roman residence. He was a great favourite, socially and professionally, and was buried in the Pantheon.

The third room from the entrance, known as the Stanza d'Eliodoro, contains the three frescoes finished during the lifetime of Julius II and relating to him. The impulsive pope was continually calling the artist to other work, as he did Michael Angelo, and his first commission was long in hand. The expulsion of Heliodorus from the temple by divine agents is taken from the book of Maccabees (ii. 3) and is intended to illustrate the success of Julius II in clearing the papal estates of unlawful holders. Cesare Borgia had made many arrangements which Julius thought well to annul.

The miracle of Bolsena is said to have taken place in 1263, when a sceptical priest was startled by finding drops of blood on the consecrated Host. The festival of Corpus Christi was instituted in consequence of it, and the cathedral of Orvieto was built in its commemoration. The transubstantiation doctrine was being attacked by the reformers and this was probably the cause of the choice. It will be noticed that Pope Julius II and his cardinals preserve absolute equanimity, as if the miracle taught them no new truths.

The deliverance of St. Peter from prison is remarkable for the clever way in which the artist has utilised an awkward window and its light in carrying out his scheme of decoration. The subject has allusion to the continuous troubles which Julius had with various European monarchs, who were to him what Herod was to St. Peter.

The fourth fresco marks the accession of a new pope, a member of the Medici family of Florence, who took the title of Leo X. He was a great patron of the humanists and of the artists, and naturally renewed Raphael's commission. The subject chosen for the concluding fresco was the victory gained by Leo the

Great over Attila and the Huns by the miraculous intervention of St. Peter and St. Paul. It foreshadowed similar moral victories under the rule of Leo X, whose features are substituted for those of his great namesake.

The second room, the Stanza della Segnatura, had probably been in hand from the beginning of Raphael's work. The figures on the ceiling—Poetry, Philosophy, Justice, and Theology—were painted by Perugino, and it was upon them that the whole scheme of decoration was based. The four frescoes are illustrations of these four subjects. Over the window Apollo and the nine Muses are surrounded on the slopes of Parnassus by the poets of Greece, Rome, and Italy. Amongst these will be recognised Homer, Virgil, Sappho, Dante, and Petrarch. The great philosophers of the ancient world, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Pythagoras, Archimedes, and many others are grouped on the steps of a classical building. Justice is represented by Justinian, who codified the Roman law, and by Pope Gregory IX, who had performed a similar service for ecclesiastical law. They hand their books to jurists, whose work will thereby be facilitated. Theology has its domain in both worlds. In the heavens above the Saviour is encircled by apostles, prophets, and saints, St. Peter and St. Paul occupying the end positions to the right and left. On earth a group of fathers, popes, bishops, and theologians is gathered round the central altar. The unfinished basilica of St. Peter localises the scene.

The room which was first entered is known by the name of the Stanza dell' Incendio. It is so called from the fresco, which represents Leo IV, with the features of Leo X, extinguishing a fire in the borgo by his miraculous intervention. The façade of the old basilica of St. Peter is shown and the episode of Æneas carrying his father Anchises from the walls of burning Troy is introduced as a graceful compliment to the pope's classical tastes. In another fresco Leo IV, again with the features of Leo X, causes

Stanza
d'Eliodoro.

Stanza della
Segnatura.

Stanza dell'
Incendio.

the defeat of the Saracens at Ostia by intercessory prayer. History credits the fourth Leo with the use of more carnal methods of warfare, but Leo X wished to imply that he had no intention of following the example of his warrior-predecessor, Julius II.

The other two frescoes illustrate an episode in the life of Leo III and its important consequences. It goes back to the time when the papacy had severed its connexion with Constantinople and was in close communication with the Franks. Pepin and Charlemagne had already delivered Rome from the Lombards and had conferred on the papacy sovereign power over the Romagna. There was a party in Rome which was violently hostile to the newly elected Leo III. The pope fled to Charlemagne for protection and was sent back to Rome under escort, to be followed a little later by the great king himself. The result was the triumph of Leo and the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. In the fresco over the window Leo stands by the altar, with his hand on the Bible, declaring his innocence in the presence of Charlemagne. And in the other fresco the pope crowns Charlemagne, who has assumed the features of Francis I, the king of France, with whom Leo X had just made terms. The meaning of it all is that the pope, having no superior on earth, has to judge himself, and that Francis and every other Christian monarch derive their crowns as did Charlemagne from the pope.

The decoration of the fourth room, the largest of all, was unfortunately not begun when Raphael was suddenly cut off by death in his thirty-seventh year. The scheme had probably been thought out and drafted, but it is easy to detect the work of other hands and brains in the more crowded scenes, the coarser figures, and the want of concentration and restfulness in comparison with the other rooms.

The broken image of the heathen god lying in fragments before the crucifix, which is to be seen on the ceiling, is the key to the subject—the fall of paganism

before Christianity. The Emperor Constantine, on his way to meet the forces of Maxentius, sees the cross in the sky and vows that he will take it for his banner. The result is the victory at the Milvian Bridge near Rome, and the acceptance of Christianity as the religion of the empire. The emperor, having been cured of his leprosy by baptism in St. John's Lateran, bestows the western empire on the papacy. We have already considered this Donation of Constantine in connexion with the baptistery of St. John's (p. 84) and with the frescoes in the church of the Quattro Coronati (p. 203). Some of these frescoes were being painted in the very year of the sack of Rome and the capture of Pope Clement VII by the troops of Constable de Bourbon. Raphael's successor was his best pupil, Giulio Romano. The details of the fresco of the Donation of Constantine should be examined for the view it gives of the interior of the old St. Peter's and the screen with the spiral columns.

Beyond the hall of Constantine is the chapel of St. Nicholas, which was decorated by Fra Angelico for Pope Nicholas V, fifty years before Raphael came to Rome. Those who know Angelico's charming frescoes in San Marco, Florence, or his dainty pictures in the Giottesque style will be surprised by his Roman work. Whether he was influenced by the frescoes of Masolino or Masaccio at S. Clemente or by other work in Rome, he is here abreast with his contemporaries. He has lost neither his tenderness nor his reverence, but has learnt perspective and realism. Scenes from the lives of the two martyred deacons, St. Stephen of Jerusalem and St. Lawrence of Rome, whose bones are said to lie together under the altar of S. Lorenzo fuori, are treated in two rows. In the upper St. Stephen receives the sacrament after ordination (1), distributes alms (2), preaches (3), disputes (4), is arrested (5), stoned (6). In the lower St. Lawrence is ordained deacon (1), is given charge of the treasure (2), distributes it to the poor (3), is brought before the Emperor Decius

(4), martyred (5). The Dominican friar-artist came to Rome at the bidding of Pope Nicholas, who had been the librarian of the Medici family in Florence, and died during his engagement at the Vatican in 1455. We have seen his grave in the church of Sta Maria Sopra Minerva. These are his last and certainly his most advanced works.

From the chapel of St. Nicholas we enter the corridor known as the loggie of Raphael, which was decorated by the versatile artist with scenes from the Bible. Unfortunately exposure to weather has caused considerable damage which has not been remedied by those who have undertaken to restore them. There is still much that will repay careful investigation, especially in the extraordinary grace and fertility of his decorative forms. The corridor is divided into a series of compartments with flat domes, in each of which he painted four scenes from: (1) the Creation, (2) the lives of Adam and Eve, (3) Noah, (4) Abraham, (5) Isaac, (6) Jacob, (7) Joseph, (8 and 9) Moses, (10) Joshua, (11) David, (12) Solomon, (13) Christ.

Those who have leisure will do well to pay many visits to the stanze and loggie of Raphael and to the chapel of St. Nicholas, as they will have few opportunities of studying fresco work of such high quality wherever they may go.

THE VATICAN LIBRARY

The Vatican library, as a repository of manuscripts and books, has a world-wide reputation and opens its doors to qualified students on conditions which are easily ascertained. It also contains treasures of various kinds which are open to the inspection of visitors without formal introduction. In the rooms added by Sixtus V some of the rare manuscripts are shown in glass cases. A fourth-century Greek Bible (1), a tenth-century Byzantine MS. illustrated (2), a second-century Virgil (3), fourth and fifth-century MSS. of Latin classics (4),

autograph works of M. Angelo, Petrarch, and Tasso (5), autograph letters of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn and the same monarch's anti-Lutheran treatise on the sacraments, for which he received from the pope the title of Defender of the Faith. Especial notice should be taken of the illustrations of the tenth-century Byzantine MS. as examples of Byzantine art during the darkest period of Western art.

In the long gallery there are cases of sixteenth-century book-bindings, Limoges enamels, ivories, glass, and many objects from the catacombs, amongst which there is a representation of the temple at Jerusalem of the time of Titus.

At the end of the gallery are some frescoes from the catacombs: a Good Shepherd (1) and a Lord's Supper (2), and from a church which formerly stood in the Forum a contemporary portrait of Charlemagne.

At this point is the entrance to a room containing Roman frescoes which give an excellent idea of what the ancient Romans could do with the brush. There are portraits, figures, land, rock and sea scapes, humorous scenes and, finest of all, the Aldobrandini nuptial scene, representing the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. No more perfect example of Roman fresco work exists than this last. It alone demands a visit to this interesting building.

THE VATICAN PICTURE GALLERY

The pictures are arranged in schools or in chronological order and are labelled.

Room I.—In the window recess are examples of the pictorial art before the revival of the thirteenth century. Architecture and sculpture were the first to improve, and for a long time there appears to have been little demand for pictures. But with the demand came the supply. Giotto in Florence and Duccio in Siena led the way by giving life to the old forms. Their movement led to further technical improvements which

resulted in the entire abandonment of the archaic style. The Eastern Church did not join in the rejection of the traditional ecclesiastical art, and consequently every form of lifeless archaism, wherever it was executed, is apt to be called Byzantine. As a matter of fact Constantinople retained her art when it had died out in the West. The primitives are represented by Simone Martini (1285-1344) and Lippo Memmi (*d.* 1357) amongst the earlier, and by Agnolo Gaddi (1343-96) and Lorenzo Monaco (1379-1425) amongst the later.

Room II contains fifteenth-century work, the result of the teaching of Masaccio (1401-28). Fra Angelico (1387-1455) has a picture which, like the frescoes in St. Nicholas' chapel, shows him in a new light. The subject, which is the stealthy gift of golden balls to three dowerless maidens by the good bishop of Bari, is rendered with the humour of Carpaccio.

Lippo Lippi. Filippo Lippi (1406-69), a monk of a different stamp but almost contemporary, is represented by a coronation of the Virgin; and Angelico's pupil, Benozzo Gozzoli, by a Virgin bestowing her girdle on St. Thomas. There is an interesting fresco

by Melozzo da Forlì (1438-90) with portraits of Sixtus IV accompanied by his two nephews, Giuliano della Rovere (afterwards Julius II) and Girolamo Riario. Platina, the librarian, kneels before the pope. Beyond these are a dramatic piece with interesting costumes, architecture, and scenery by Cossa (1440-80) (1); a profile portrait of Francesco Sforza (2); and a study in brown of St. Jerome by Leonardo da Vinci (3).

Room III.—The story of Nicolas of Bari is repeated by Gentile da Fabriano (1370-1428) and affords an opportunity for comparison. Important altar pieces by Pinturicchio (1454-1513) and Perugino (1446-1524).

Room IV.—Pictures by or associated with Raphael (1483-1520): St. Jerome by Giovanni Santi, his father (1). Madonna and saints

by Perugino, his master (2). Madonna di Foligno and the Transfiguration by himself (3). Madonna di Monteluce by Giulio Romano and G. F. Penni, his pupils (4). The Madonna di Foligno is one of the most charming of the master's altar pieces. The Transfiguration was his last work. The upper part only was finished at the time of his death. The lower half is the work of Giulio Romano.

On the other side of the entrance are pictures of the Venetian and other schools.

Room I.—Carlo Crivelli (1430-95), Titian (1477-1576), Antonio Vivarini of Murano (1440-70), Paris Bordone (1500-70), and Sebastian del Piombo (1485-1547).

Room II.—Guido Reni, Guercino, Domenichino, Spagnoletto, Maratta. Portrait of Sixtus V (1585-90) as cardinal by Sassoferrato. He was the energetic Franciscan pope who built the existing Lateran palace, finished the dome of St. Peter's, made the Via Sistina, and left his mark on every part of the city.

Room III contains a very inadequate collection of foreign pictures. England is represented by an imposing portrait of George IV by Lawrence, Germany by two small portraits of the Hohenzollern family, Holland by a Teniers, and Spain by a Murillo. The last is of exceptional merit, free from affectation and sober in colour.

THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO

The mausoleum of Hadrian, which was converted into a fortress in the third century and remained so almost to the present time, has recently been fitted up as a museum of medieval Rome. The visitor has consequently the opportunity of wandering at leisure through its rooms and meditating on its varied history without the accompaniment of guide or party.

It is said that Gregory the Great (590-604) and his procession of clergy were chanting their litany for

deliverance from the plague when the archangel Michael appeared above the castle sheathing his sword. Documentary evidence supports the story as far as the procession and the litany, but there stops short, and no mention can be found of the name or of the bronze figure for many centuries after Gregory's date. The monk exercised his imagination with a freedom which newspapers and critics have long destroyed, and his poetry has in consequence to bear the brunt of suspicion. We may, however, safely say that the name was derived from the story.

When the emperor Aurelian (270-5) found it necessary to surround Rome with a new circle of defence, he used the mausoleum of Hadrian as one of his corner towers, and from that time onward it became the chief fortress of the city. Belisarius held it against the Goths in 537 and used its statues as missiles from the parapets. It kept out the Lombards in 755 and was linked to the Leonine wall for defence against the Saracens in 846. During the darkest period of Rome's history it was the coveted possession of the strongest party. Gregory VII (Hildebrand) held it against Henry IV during three successive invasions, until he was rescued by his Norman supporters. Henry V had to sacrifice his men and nearly lost his own life in conflict with the papal party within the castle. Arnold of Brescia was taken from its dungeons to execution, and Frederick Barbarossa (1152-90) killed more than a thousand Romans under its walls in a coronation riot. By holding the castle, Prince John of Naples forced Henry VII to receive the crown at the Lateran. Rienzi held it for a few months and its prisons were filled by Urban V. Boniface IX, a soldier pope, strengthened it and Eugenius IV held it against the Colonnas. Clement VII escaped capture by the troops of Charles V in 1526 through its secret corridor, and when they returned the following year their leader, the Constable de Bourbon, was shot from its walls. In the sixteenth century the

Made a
fortress in
the 3rd c.

Used against
Goths,
Lombards,
and Saracens.

internal accommodation was rearranged. A council chamber and a suite of apartments were built and decorated. But its prisons were never closed. The cells of Giordano Bruno, Benvenuto Cellini, Beatrice Cenci, Cagliostro, and others are amongst its show places.

The bed-chamber of Clement VII, fitted up with contemporary furniture, rooms full of weapons, textiles, faience, and fragments of sculpture, Piranesi's engravings of old Rome, inscriptions, pictures, and all kinds of odds and ends of various periods add to the interest of the visit.

The museum.

THE VILLA FARNESINA

One of Raphael's patrons in Rome was the banker Agostino Chigi, for whom he designed and decorated this villa and the chapel in Sta Maria del Popolo. Painted ceilings were unfortunately fashionable at the time, and two of the greatest masters the world has ever seen, Michael Angelo and Raphael, were employed at great discomfort to themselves to produce work which can only be appreciated at great discomfort to others. In spite of this and of the more serious retouching and restoration to which it has been subjected, this is one of the most attractive pieces of fresco work in Italy. It is the story of Cupid and Psyche from classic mythology, and may be described as the unconquerable power of love. It begins in the spandrel over the middle of the end wall to the left of the entrance, where Venus, jealous of Psyche's beauty, sends Cupid to make her fall in love with an undesirable person (1). Cupid, having fallen a victim himself, praises Psyche to his handmaidens (2). Venus seeks help in vain from Juno and Ceres (3), drives in her dove-drawn chariot (4) to Jupiter (5), who lends her Mercury (6). Psyche performs all the impossible tasks imposed on her, even to bringing a casket from Hades (7), to the amazement and vexation of Venus (8). Cupid obtains the consent of Jupiter (9), and Mercury gives

Raphael's
fresco of
Cupid and
Psyche.

Psyche the draught of immortality on Olympus (10). The nuptial banquet of Cupid and Psyche (11). In the triangular spaces between the spandrels amorini fly about with the attributes of the various deities, showing that all are under the influence of love, and the various episodes are divided by a lovely wreath of fruit, flowers, and foliage.

In the adjacent room the lunettes are filled with frescoes by Sebastian del Piombo, the ceiling by Baldassare Peruzzi, and several panels with academic landscapes. Amongst these is one of Raphael's most charming conceptions, executed by himself, a picture which every one will wish to impress indelibly on his memory. The subject is Galatea being drawn across the sea by dolphins accompanied by Tritons and nymphs.

Raphael's
Galatea.

THE CORSINI PALACE

Opposite the Villa Farnesina is the Corsini palace, with a collection of second-rate pictures. There are one or two fourteenth-century pictures worth seeing, a portrait of Henry VIII by Holbein, a Madonna and Child by Murillo, some Dutch and Venetian landscapes of indifferent quality, and a large number of the emotional Italian school of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

BORGHESE GALLERY

No one will visit Rome without becoming acquainted with the Borghese gardens and park, which since 1902 have been connected with the Pincian gardens. At the far end is a casino with handsome rooms most elaborately decorated and filled with vases, sculpture, and pictures.

One or two of the latter are amongst the world's chefs d'œuvres, such as Titian's Sacred and Profane Love, or Beauty adorned and unadorned, as it might be more fitly called, and the Entombment

Titian.

by Raphael. The reclining portrait in white marble of Pauline Borghese, sister of Napoleon, by Canova, is another attraction. There are other pictures by Bonifazio, Antonello da Messina, Lorenzo di Credì, &c., and numberless statues, marbles, reliefs, &c., which make a visit imperative.

Raphael.

Canova.

DORIA GALLERY

No picture-lover can afford to miss the portrait of Innocent X by Velasquez. For a combination of all the elements of a great portrait—delineation of character, vitality, expression, treatment of drapery, harmony of colours—it would be difficult to find its superior. There are other pictures of merit in the handsome rooms of the palace—Claude Lorraine's Mill, a portrait of Macchiavelli, Rubens' Franciscan monk, one or two portraits by Vandyk, Paris Bordone's Mars, Venus, and Cupid, Raphael's Two Venetians, and in the sculpture room several sarcophagi, cinerary urns, altars, and reliefs.

Velasquez'
Innocent X.

BARBERINI GALLERY

The two pièces de résistance here are Raphael's Fornarina and Guido Reni's Beatrice Cenci; but both are under a cloud of doubt, the first as to the artist and the second as to the subject. Other canvases of interest are Albert Durer's Christ and the Doctors, Lorenzo Costa's Madonna and Child, Melozzo da Forlì's Duke d'Urbino with his son Guidobaldi, and a series of imaginary portraits of celebrities by Giovanni Santi, the father of Raphael.

Guido Reni's
Beatrice
Cenci.

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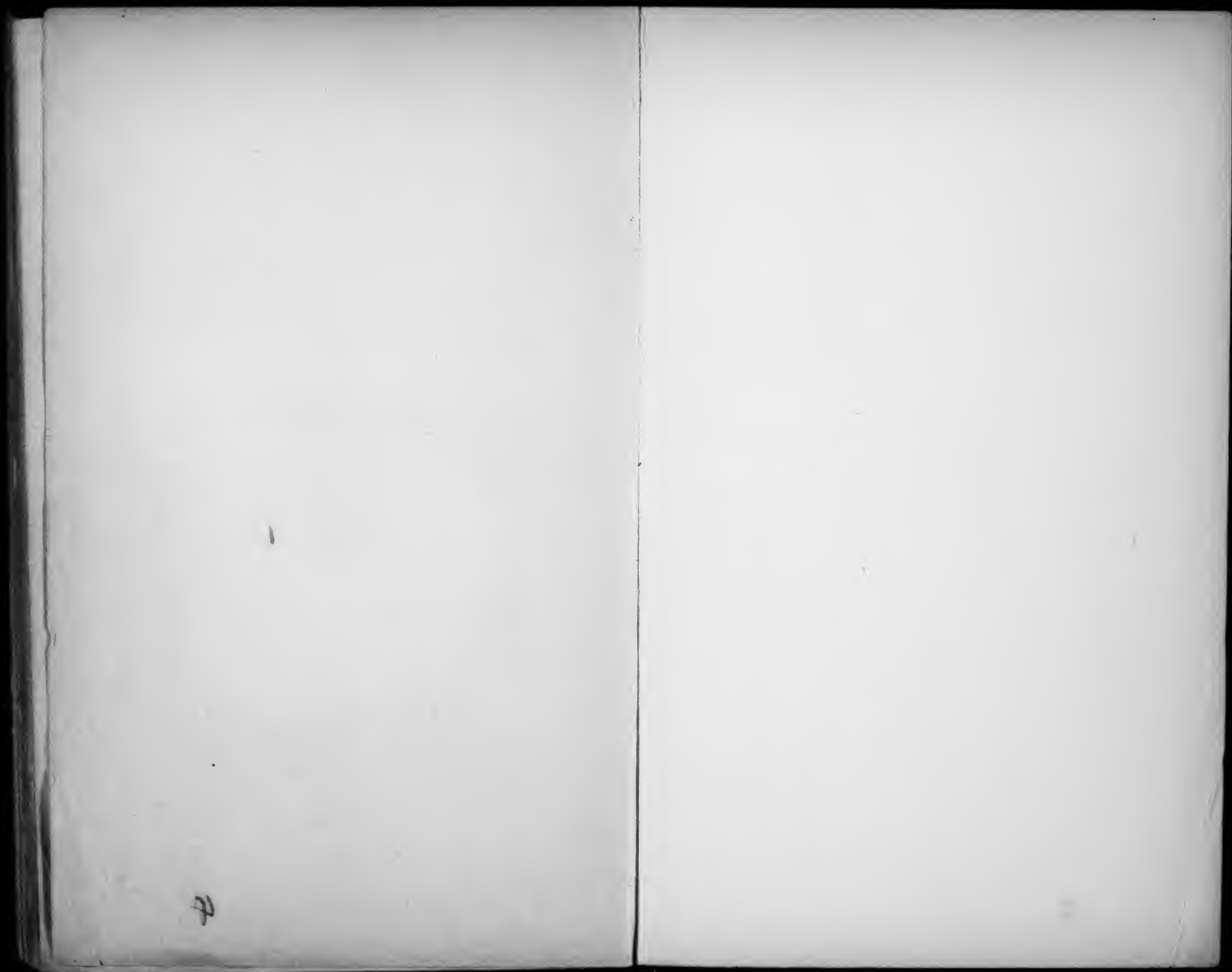
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